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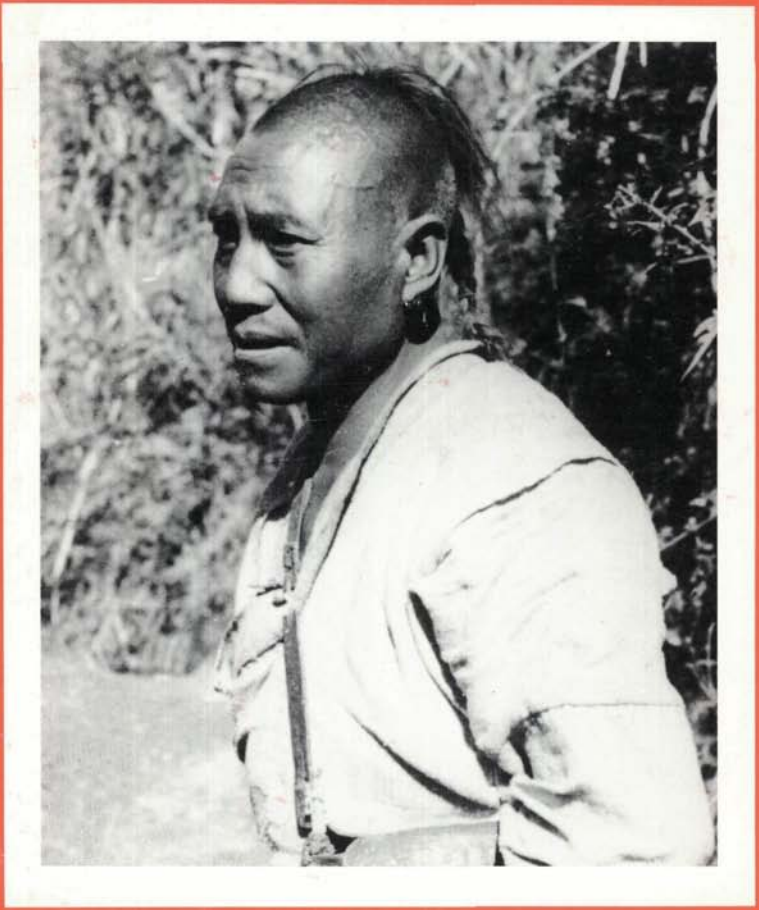

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Cover Picture: A Naxi tribesman from the Latsa region of Yunnan Province, People's Republic of China. (See article: *Marriage and Family Among China's Minority Nationalities as Viewed from Beijing*)

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SOME CHANGES IN SOCIAL LIFE IN A COMMUNITY WITH A FALLING INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT†

Raymond B. Cattell
Professor Emeritus, University of Indiana

Though the observation that mental capacity is largely inborn has long been accepted by the majority of psychologists, it has not always been so favorably received by workers in sister sciences. The truth of this observation need not be discussed afresh here, since the evidence to date has been comprehensively summarized elsewhere, but it is relevant to point out that even the most generous allowance for environment which those wishing to stress environment have dared to claim would fail to account for more than a small fraction of the variability of intelligence quotient existing in our population.

The present study will not depend upon the assumption that accurate figures for the heritability of intelligence have been determined. Indeed it will not depend for its *raison d'être* on the assumption that any decline of intelligence has been proved, but will take its justification from the fact that the relation of a community's mental capacity to social and cultural habits has been grievously neglected in both discussion and investigation, in spite of its great theoretical and practical interest.

If there is a relation between culture and the biological quality of the units constituting the group this relation is highly relevant to practical politics, for the methods of combating any decline in intelligence must depend upon a sound analysis of cause and effect among the conditions accompanying it.

Limits of the Discussion

Social consequences might conceivably follow either from

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† This article is condensed from a paper which appeared in *Intelligence and National Achievement* (R. B. Cattell, Ed.). Washington, D.C., Institute for the Study of Man, 1983.
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changes in the absolute level of intelligence, the distribution form remaining constant, or from changes in distribution, e.g. standard deviation, the average level remaining unchanged.

Both kinds of change can readily occur, for a bulge in the distribution curve at the 70-90 I.Q. level would increase standard deviation if, as seems likely, the upper intelligence levels are passing out of the phase of greatest family restriction; but in the first attack on the problem it seems best to limit the discussion largely to the downward shift of the distribution curve as a whole.

To argue that certain social changes must of scientific necessity follow the posited changes in biological character is not to expect that they will do so as a matter of historical fact. For intelligence is only one of many independent factors, and the cultural influences among the latter, e.g. the influences of individual leaders, are more rapid and unpredictable in action though, of course, their action is itself modified by the factor we have to consider here. Secondly, the primary social and economic consequences of the intelligence change will interact among themselves, masking, transmitting and producing consequences of second order. These consequences are too numerous and complex to be discussed in a first study. Moreover it would be premature to attack them until the first set of direct consequences has been approved by argument and research. Except in rare instances the discussion will therefore confine itself to the first and direct influences of a falling intelligence level.

Methods of Solution

To look for the effects entirely, or even mainly, in the cognitive field – in educational, academic and technical industrial efficiency – merely because the variable we are dealing with is a cognitive one, would produce an altogether false solution of the problem.

Clinical experience has convinced the present writer that mental capacity is one of the more important factors determining the individual's character development and that current research tends to understate, by simplifying, the extent to which

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character education is limited and modified by the individual's mental capacity. If this is true of the individual, it must apply even more powerfully in society, which to a far greater extent creates its own environment. For, apart from the heritage of skills and intellectual furniture handed down from previous cultures, the mental capacities of the members of a group (and whatever other psychological qualities, if any, are fixed by inheritance) are themselves the environment shaping the formation of character and limiting the patterns of emotional adjustment in living individuals and in the coming generation. It is true that this heritage, which may seem disposed of over-lightly in the above sentence, includes the use made of the (constant) physical world and also the economic system, its level of energy supply and its structure. But these, in a community which has long had various alternatives open to its choice, must in the end be selected largely according to the community intelligence level.

The fields in which these effects will be felt and their particular character must, of course, in the end be decided by experimental and statistical methods, like any other problem of social psychology. Suitable experimental situations may not easily be found, for groups of differing intelligence average generally differ also in racial type and cultural history, whilst to pick out groups within the same race and nation does not provide all the conditions required, for such groups would rarely have had any extensive control over their own legal, economic and social customs. Studies of a sufficient number of groups, even if differing racially and in social heritage, should, however, permit some general conclusions to be drawn, just as the gathering of data on a sufficient number of individuals will enable one to eliminate all individual differences other than that to be studied.

There is no reason why valid answers to some issues should not emerge from experimental study on a relatively small scale of groups of children, equated in age and other respects but differing by a known amount in average I.Q. or standard deviation within the group. Observations could be made on the qualitative differences in their manners of organization, rules,

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customs and moral standards. Quantitative results could be obtained by comparing their scores in competitive games and community projects; whilst the technique for measuring attitudes, interests and allied questions of energy disposal, would almost certainly yield interesting general laws.[1]

This article, presenting a first approach to the problem, must unfortunately depend largely on deductive reasoning, employing our knowledge of the nature of mental capacity and an analysis of social situations. But there are already, valuable empirical studies connecting intelligence and behavior in special fields of social life, and upon these we can draw for the construction of foundations. These fields are the applied sciences of industrial psychology, child guidance, and educational psychology, plus a few specific studies in social psychology. Since the consequences in the educational field are relatively certain and clear cut, and since effects elsewhere to some extent ensue naturally from them, it would be best to consider education first.

Nature of Changes Deduced

Probably the most significant improvement of our educational system during the past decade has been the progress of the precise classification of children according to real ability, extending from the special schools, to the A classes of selective secondary schools. In these distinct streams the children proceed at very different rates for, as Cyril Burt showed, the variability in mental age tends to result, at least in some of the main school subjects, in an even greater variability of attainment age.

But of greater significance to society is the fact that in the child-centered school of today the curricula and methods are best adapted, not only in levels but in quality and range, to the

[1] Doubtless the findings would be far more surprising than any to be deduced from armchair analysis. The present writer once had the opportunity of seeing a team of mentally defective youths play at football a team of normals of the same age and weight. The former won rather easily, this result being seemingly due to the fact that, thwarted in mental expression, they were not without physical skills.

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capacities of the children; for interest is a function of capacity and teaching without interest is futile unless tyranny is invoked. This means that any alteration in the numbers of children born at the various intelligence levels will lead inevitably to changes in the proportions of young citizens having the various kinds of training and curricula. To take an instance from one end of the scale: a 24% increase predicted in the numbers of feeble-minded would result in a similar increase in the school leavers trained only in crude handwork, barely able to read and unable to carry out elementary calculations. The modern child-centered school only serves to bring out more clearly the truth inherent in all educational systems: that the standards and types of education, when the community is giving the best it can to all children, are at the mercy of birth-rates.

This general change in which those fitted for advanced and abstract studies dwindle whilst those profiting only by simple, concrete education increases, needs next to be considered quantitatively with regard to the maintenance of scholastic standards in all types of school, with their existing curriculum and goal. A fall of intelligence amounting to six months of mental age in generation might be partially offset by greater time given to the main subjects of education, either by economizing on the unfortunate 'frills' or by increasing the length of school life.

Although the results of education can closely simulate native wit, the product of substitution will not be quite the same.[2] Proficiency in such subjects as arithmetic and English (notably style and vocabulary) correlates much more closely with '*g*' than does proficiency in simple manual and mental skills. Consequently in the former a point is soon reached in the decline of intelligence beyond which insufficient intelligence can only be compensated for by a quite exorbitant expenditure of time, or

[2] As every academic teacher knows, education beyond a student's actual capacity can have a sterilizing effect on the mind and a stultifying effect on personality; but these psychological complications cannot be followed up here. Whilst this article was being written a landlady, describing a visitor to the writer, said, in good faith, "He was an educated man, but not stupid...."

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not at all. Teachers who complain that an extra year or two of schooling will be wasted on a certain proportion of their charges are naturally referring to abstract and conventionally 'cultural' subjects, not to manual skills.

The ultimate consequences in education have not been considered until we look at economic effects. Since the feeble-minded child costs more to raise than the average child, and since at every level the less intelligent pupil costs more (whilst never reaching the same finished level), existing scholastic standards cannot be maintained without deflecting more state expenditure into education. This sets up a chain of more remote effects through the economic drain upon the other social services.

In Economic Life

Various studies have provided us with knowledge of the distribution of intelligence in various occupations. There is a definite and significant grading of average I.Q. according to the complexity of the occupations or to the level of rewards to be expected from the occupation. A good deal of overlap in intelligence exists: the lowest quartile of the medical doctors, for example, being at the same level as the highest quartile for precision fitters or shop assistants.

At first sight we might suppose that a fall in the average intelligence quotients, with the distribution form remaining constant, would result in a shortage of people with suitable capacity for the more skilled or 'professional' occupations, and an excess of those able to absorb only that minimum of lore necessary for unskilled labor.

This assumes that in most occupations men and women have already reached the limits of their educability. Such a saturation point in education has perhaps been reached in the professions, where men fail to be better teachers or doctors not through any lack of training but through their own limitations, but it is scarcely true of, for example, the ranks of unskilled labor, in which, there is still undoubtedly a fair proportion of men of high capacity not using that capacity.

Because of this last-mentioned fact, the dwindling of the

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actual supply of natural capacity could easily be met for a generation or more by a better utilization of available ability.

On the other hand a more thorough combing of the school population, a more complete extraction of good ability from the unskilled occupations, may lead to costly inefficiency where we least expect to find it. For it is a mistake to assume that the occupation requiring the longest training is necessarily that requiring the highest general ability. A good foreman or charge hand needs a high level of general intelligence for the complex human and material problems which not infrequently crop up. And even in mechanized factory work, as G. H. Miles pointed out, "countless... operations have arisen which demand little bodily activity and much specialized mental effort and concentration." It may be more important to avoid incompetent surgeons than incompetent railway foremen, and this combing of the population for good brains is indicated also by social justice; but it is not a solution of the problem of declining intelligence, even temporarily.

Though it is obviously untrue to say that in all occupations men are called upon to behave in ways characteristic of their intelligence at its upper limits, they are, in a great number of acts and decisions, working close to this upper limit. Any fall of intelligence might be expected to involve industry in a disproportionate increase in training to compensate for deficiencies or to avoid difficulties which would not have arisen with the more self-sufficient worker.

When such education is not given, or where it is useless to seek in education compensation for the lack of native wit, the result of a heaping up of individuals at a certain low intelligence level will be unemployment at that level. In all branches of industry, commerce and administration, a certain ratio of the number of highly trained to less trained has been established by the nature of the work to be done. The employment of a certain number of men of lesser mobility requires the catalyzing and directive influence of men more gifted. A falling off in the numbers of the latter means unemployment for the former.

Looking at the matter more broadly, we may say that any given culture establishes a certain distribution curve of demand

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for intelligence at various levels, and that harmony must exist between this curve and the curve of supply given by the birth-rates at various intelligences.

Originally these curves must have been identical, for a society could not invent or borrow a culture more complex than it could understand. But dislocations might take place through alterations in either of the curves. A widespread earthquake, for instance, or a war, by creating immense demands for relatively unskilled labor, would be inappropriate to the present curve of supply (Fig. 1), but any bulge in the lower part of the intelligence distribution curve would adjust to such a curve of demand. In stable, progressive conditions of civilization, on the other hand, such a change in the curve of supply must result in unemployment being greatest at the lower levels of intelligence.

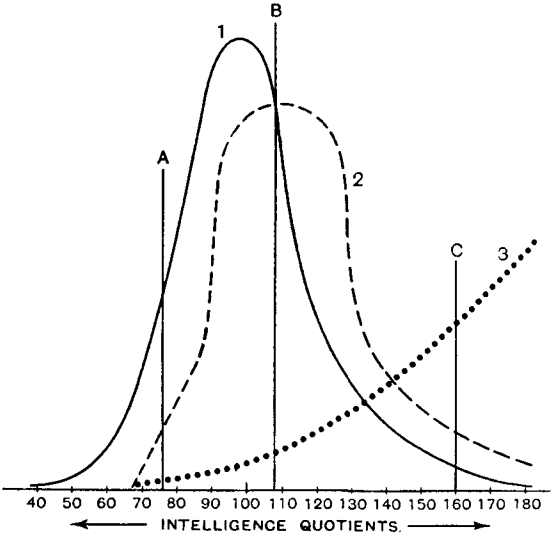

FIGURE 1: A. Supply greatly in excess of demand at 75 I.Q. – negligible wage. B. Supply and demand equal – normal wage. C. Demand greaatly in excess of supply – disproportionate wage. (1) ——— Distribution of actual I.Q.'s. (2) ----- Distribution of demand for I.Q.'s. (3) ..... Rate of rewards arising from relation of (1) and (2).

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In confirmation of this we may consider Fig. 2, showing the intelligence levels of children of unemployed in the two areas surveyed in the original research. It may be objected that in any period of unemployment it is only natural that the more intelligent will be in competition secure jobs; but it is yet to be proven that these are too intelligent for the jobs they take.

Students of population have long seen the errors of the naive view that unemployment is directly due to overpopulation; next they have passed to studies of the economics of production and distribution; but it is possible that they will find at the root of the economic problem a psychological problem arising from the social effects of too great a range of innate individual differences in mental effectiveness.

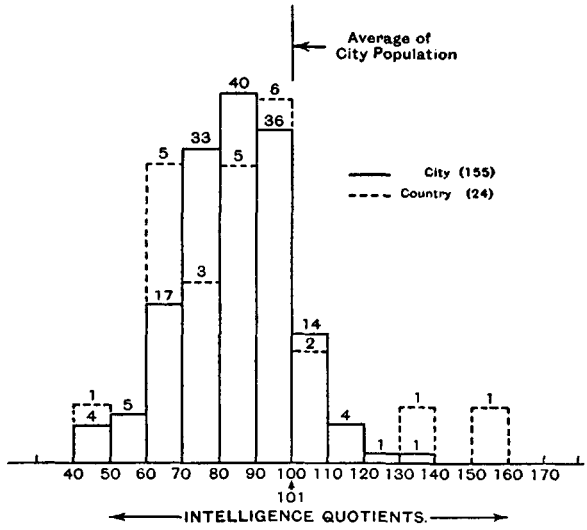

FIGURE 2: Intelligence distribution of children of unemployed persons.

Any attempt to discover the more direct effects upon wealth of changing intelligence levels must rest upon generalities. Some studies have shown a correlation of 0.9 to exist between the earning power of occupations and their mean intelligence demand. It has been argued by some sociologists that the

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capacity to produce wealth is associated with inheritable mental attributes such as intelligence, but the facts of persistence of wealth in certain families may prove equally well an association of the capacity to seize property from others with inheritable or environmentally produced deficiency of character.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the wealth of a community possessing a given quantity of raw material depends upon the quality and number of its inventive and organizing brains – and if inventive capacity is high enough, almost anything can become raw material. A decline in the numbers of high intelligence quotients must consequently mean a decline in the amount of goods and energy available for distribution in that community.

In Moral Standards

The experiences of Child Guidance Clinics and the repetition in various parts of the world of researches, originally initiated by Sir Cyril Burt and T. Healy indicate that delinquent children are on an average of significantly lower intelligence than non-delinquent children from the same social stratum.

Among the probable causes of this connection seem to be: (i) The duller child does not so easily foresee the consequences of his actions or the likelihood of detection. (ii) Low intelligence is associated with suggestibility to evil counsels. (iii) In a complex environment the less able child is less successful in finding the normal amount of self-expression for psychic energy. He is more frequently frustrated or exploited by others. He is, in general, more hard pressed by economic restriction. In short, he has to handle a greater load of suppression. (iv) Whilst he suffers from this greater curtailment of direct instinctive expression, he is at the same time less able to achieve satisfaction in alternative indirect expression; for adequate intelligence is a condition of satisfaction in sublimations through art, music, science, social service and the activities approved by civilization. (v) Since he is of low intelligence there is a statistical probability that he has been brought up by parents of low intelligence, who have followed inconsistent and short-sighted policies in character education.

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The relative importance of each of these processes would be better understood if there were evidence as to whether delinquency is customarily associated with absolute low intelligence, or merely with intelligence which is low relative to the average for the group.

If the latter, then a decrease in average intelligence, the scatter remaining constant, would not result in increased delinquency, for the tendency to delinquency is in proportion to the maladaptation of the lower ranges to the culture standards of the pervasive average. This argument, however, overlooks the fact, early pointed out by such psychologists as McDougall, that the crust of custom and tradition has a persistent life of its own, beyond that of the individuals creating the custom. Though the average of intelligence may fall, therefore, the standards of behavior, discrimination and sublimation can be expected to persist for a generation or more, with only sporadic patches of decrepitude. It is the discrepancy between the level of this persisting culture and that of the mental capacity of the new generation of living individuals which is crucial to the development of delinquency.

Under delinquency we commonly think solely of delinquency against society, yet there are some forms of behavior damaging to the individual and society which might be called delinquency against nature, for they arise from a mishandling of human dealings with nature. Such behavior extends from the small child hurting himself because he refuses to recognize the physical properties of a chair to a society injuring itself through reckless use of an obviously limited supply of natural resources. In child-guidance work it is often very strikingly illustrated that the child whose stupid reactions bring him into excessive conflict with his fellows is also excessively scarred through accidents arising from a stupid handling of natural objects. This delinquency against nature involves the group as well as the individual; for the group suffers from the individual's excess of activity over judgment.

From such considerations it seems reasonable to conclude that delinquency as it is commonly understood – 'delinquency against society' – is a function of the difference between the

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individual's intelligence and that of the average of the society to whose standards he is constrained; whereas delinquency in the wider sense – 'delinquency against nature', resulting in any kind of damage to society and the individual – is a function of the absolute level of intelligence.

Owing to that persistence of culture habits described above, however, the fall in average intelligence which we are discussing would, in fact, result in an increase of both types of anti-social action. It would be interesting to know what part of the present increase in juvenile delinquency is attributable to intelligence distribution changes.

Throughout it has been the plan of this enquiry to confine the investigation to the direct psychological effects. Nevertheless it cannot be overlooked that these would often be powerfully accentuated or modified by simultaneous effects operating in other fields, e.g. the increase in economic divergence discussed above would increase the provocation to delinquency. The possible reciprocation of primary consequences, resulting in consequences of a second order, are too numerous to study here; but in the matter now being discussed there is a point of such interest that it would seem to justify departing from the condition that other things are equal, and following up the result of another social variable varying along with intelligence.

Above we have supposed that the demands of culture will persist at their present level. Although culture habits in their deeper levels have considerable persistence, there are times, e.g. at the birth of some new religious impulse, or the impact of one culture upon another, when a few things can change more rapidly. It is possible, therefore, that instead of persisting the present restraints will either slacken, in response to the fall of intelligence, or that an attempt at over-compensation will be made by tightening up inhibitions to a hitherto unobtained level.

Before looking at the consequences of these alternatives, it is necessary to consider the ways in which instinctive expression is modified by culture. Generally the original biological goal of hunger, sex, gregariousness, etc., is maintained, being reached, however, by a longer circuit. Instead of hunting his food a man

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may earn it by working as a clerk. This involves a certain psychological strain and demands, generally, more intelligence than the original mode of behavior. But instincts may even become what Freud has called 'aim inhibited', i.e. sublimated to some goal resembling but not as satisfying as the original biological goal. This renunciation demands 'plasticity' in the nervous system, a thing about which we know little, but generally it also requires intelligence, for the substitutes offered are generally of a complex kind.

Neither of these instinct changes is, in itself, better carried out by reason of good intelligence (unless it should be proved that 'plasticity' correlates with intelligence). Pascal is said to have responded to a disappointment in love by becoming increasingly entranced with the higher mathematics, and this sublimation is clearly not possible without such an intelligence as would make mathematics fascinating; but a feebleminded person might respond equally well to the same situation, as in cases I have observed, by an interest in painting walls or smashing stones with a hammer. Similarly a man who doesn't get his food by the enjoyment of hunting may earn it, if he has a low I.Q., by turning a crank, with no more long-circuiting than occurs in the individual with a higher I.Q. who does the work of a clerk.

The chief reason, therefore, why the person of greater capacity is less delinquent and more able to tolerate either long-circuiting of instinct or its sublimation must be that civilization offers more opportunities for long-circuiting and sublimation at higher levels than at lower levels of complexity.

For all individuals some of the time, and some individuals all of the time, the psychological strain of these behavioral modifications – which I shall call 'deflection strain' – must approach the limit of toleration, so that delinquency is threatened. This problem has been dealt with from one aspect by Freud in *Civilization and its Discontents*. From the present aspect we see that any marked fall of average intelligence with the same standard of culture is going to increase 'deflection strain' to an explosive pitch.

In individual psychology it frequently happens that free-floating emotion from unexpressed unconscious sources

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irrationally fastens itself upon some chance external object, or that unconscious attitudes are 'projected' upon innocent objects. The irritation engendered by the frustrations of 'deflection strain' may well be one of the main drives for acts of war, and for the projection of hostile attitudes upon foreign countries. A fall of intelligence in a civilization which retains its complexity in spite of the less adequate mentalities of its bearers may, therefore, be associated with an increased readiness to action which relieves the tension of 'deflection strain' by war.

The first solution of the 'deflection strain' arising from intelligence decline which is likely to appeal to a community conscious of its cause would be a systematized relaxation of moral standards, permitting more direct instinctive satisfactions and harmless and culturally valueless long-circuitings. The widespread creation of easy amusements in the cinema, the T.V. and the popular tabloid show that this is going on today, and these institutions might cater for a fall in average intelligence in such a way as to handle 'deflection strain' without allowing any increase in delinquency. Economic measures might do the same, for 'deflection strain' is greater for low than for high intelligence under conditions of material deprivation. The substitution of lower for higher recreational values is, however, a moral loss to the community in the fullest sense of morality.

There remains the alternative of the community being provoked, as it were, by the threatened decline into an actual increase of restraints and the imposition of higher standards, such as might occur in a strongly religious society. Granted sterner inhibition the limits of deflection strain would then be indicated not by an increase in delinquency but by a mounting incidence of suicides, melancholiacs and perhaps neurotics generally. At the same time there would be a loss of expressiveness and *joie-de-vivre* throughout the community, with resultant changes in the creativity and in the general type of culture. To maintain the same percentage of delinquency with a falling intelligence average, therefore, it seems that the community must either invent substitute satisfactions at a low level or revert to Puritanical standards of suppression.

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In Political and Social Life

We are confining consideration in the main to consequences of a fall of intelligence, but the kind of change actually foreshadowed in the birth-rate survey described almost certainly includes also an increase in the standard deviation, principally through a relatively large increase in the 70-80 I.Q. range remote from the present mode.

The political consequences of such a change may be expected to arise directly through the increasing mental distance between individuals, and indirectly through changes in economic status brought about by the lowering of I.Q. Outstanding among the latter would be the development of a larger 'social problem group' or at least of a group supported, supervised and patronized by extensive state social welfare work. Even if, through the supersession of *laissez-faire* by control of earnings, increased economic divergence were prevented, the direct 'distancing' effect would still persist: people may have uniform wage-rates and yet diverge greatly in social life and habits through differences in complexity of occupation and the presence or absence of intellectual interests. Any increase in the standard deviation is inimical to that human solidarity and potential equality of prestige which is essential to democracy.

Psychological analysis suggests that the above is not the whole story. To see all sides of a question, to make a discriminating and qualified, rather than an all-or-nothing response, requires higher intelligence. A fall of average mental capacity means an increase in the number of people capable of being led into extremist positions.

It is a commonplace in education that freedom can generally be safely given to a child in proportion to his intelligence. Newer systems of education, allowing the child considerable rights of self-determination, work admirably with gifted children; but at the other end of the scale, among border-line feeble-minded children in special classes, it is noticeable that children neither desire nor tolerate much individual freedom. It is as if, intuitively, or through experience, they realize that the greatest happiness of all concerned depends upon their being given rigid rules of conduct prescribing behavior even to

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the extent of most detailed traditions and taboos. In social behavior, as in arithmetic, they cannot safely be left to proceed far on their own. Thus, intelligent reformers during a generation suffering a falling average of intelligence will consequently experience greater difficulty in finding support for intelligent responses to problems facing society.

The above considerations combined suggest the probability of political changes of a complex kind. They include lack of cohesion between social groups, together with changes of mental attitude such as might lend to the dissolution of the ideal of democracy; a decrease of the tempo of intelligent progressiveness, an increase in those who pin their faith to simplified extremist formulae; and a hardening of rigid disciplines which preclude individual freedom.

In General Culture

There remain for discussion certain effects of a more general kind on the mental life of the group as a whole.

Among people exposed to much the same cultural influences, it is surprising how highly the amount of general information at the command of any individual is dependent upon mental capacity. Correlations of '*g*' with size of vocabulary, for example, are commonly as high as 0.8.

The smooth and efficient running of social life in a civilization of a complex kind, having many specialized institutions, requires a reasonably high level of general knowledge in all its members. Civilization is, after all, largely a body of knowledge – words, for example, do not live in dictionaries, but in the minds of writers – and people who cannot heed important parts of that background certainly cannot acquire the appropriate attitudes. Furthermore, any specialized question, affecting the life of the community as a whole, must be able to impinge upon a sufficient number and variety of alert people to ensure that the reaction is such as to be in the long-term interest of the community as a whole. A decline in average intelligence means a shrinkage of the field of general knowledge which each person is capable of absorbing, and consequently a reduction in the number of people aware of anything but the simplest issues

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within the ambit of their daily lives. This must lead to an inertness of society and a dangerous slowness or lack of integration in responding to political and social dangers.

This problem has already been studied experimentally in the previous section with regard to politics; we may here look at it in a more general way. Any new idea appearing in a community can be reacted to by those who understand it either in a friendly or a hostile fashion. But the people who do not understand it will usually treat it in a hostile fashion. Every idea must have, according to its complexity, a certain percentage of the community capable of appreciating it. It can percolate downwards very rapidly so far but, reaching the larger stratum of people who understand it with difficulty, it moves very slowly and must depend for its progress upon emotional pressure and extraneous historical factors.

There is thus for every idea a certain I.Q. which may be called its 'demostatic level', down to which it may be fully understood, and an also I.Q. stretch below that, over which it has considerably smaller influence, which may be called its 'percolation range'.

Thus in the field of literary art, Q.D. Leavis once complained that "the rate at which *cultural* news penetrates is surprisingly slow... considering the elaborate machinery for disseminating such news which civilization possesses", and continues "the Book Clubs are instruments not for improving taste but for standardizing it at the middlebrow level, thus preventing the natural progression of taste that in the later eighteenth century, for instance, was assisted". The phenomenon would be explicable on the present hypothesis on the grounds that in the eighteenth century 'taste' had still not penetrated to its demostatic level, whereas today it has, and the maligned Book Clubs are only stabilizing each variety of taste at its most natural and stable level. The naive supposition that progress of ideas downwards through society is continuous though slow, arises from the observation of slow movement in the 'percolation range'; but in fact no idea can get beyond its percolation range, and may be proceeding to an arrest at an I.Q. level which must be quite high in certain instances, e.g. the

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Theory of Relativity.

The vigor with which mental energy invests an idea or course of action is a function of the simplicity of the latter. Corresponding to the demostatic level and percolation range in society there is for each individual, in the range of ideas which assails him, an upper limit of easy comprehension ending in a point beyond which no further complexity can be handled at all. To the range beyond this point he can generally apply nothing but a passive hostility; to the middle range of dim comprehension he can give only weak support or criticism; to the lowest range he can give the full weight of his emotional life. Consequently the amount of energy available in society for any given idea must depend on the demostatic level for that idea and the percentage of people in the given community above that I.Q. level, plus a value obtained by multiplying the numbers in each level of the percolation range by a fraction which diminishes from one to zero in passing from the top to the bottom of the percolation range. This we may call the 'psychic energy investment' of the idea, and it will vary from community to community according to the average level of I.Q. and the distribution of I.Q.

Between any two minds in the same culture there is bound to be more or less overlap in knowledge, interests and sentiments. This we may call 'mental overlap', and upon its extent depends the amount of social cohesion in any purpose which may attract the energy of society. Good mental overlap does not ensure common purpose, but it is the necessary fruitful soil of common sympathy in which the latter may grow. A reduction of average mental capacity means a reduction of mental overlap in all minds and a failure of any mental overlap whatever in the socially, geographically and occupationally more remote minds; so that social cohesion, and the size of the group in which successful cohesion can be maintained, are diminished. Reduction of mental overlap arising from that diminution in the radius of individual minds produced by the substitution of lower for higher I.Q.'s thus has two major consequences:

(1) The impairment of social cohesion.

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(2) Reduction in the intensity of cultural life, which is the sum of these overlaps, or, otherwise expressed, of the total psychic energy investment of a given set of ideas – the ideas much give form to that culture.

A similar process must take place within the limited fields of the special sciences and arts. The instability of what we regard as the intelligent person to cope with the increased complexity of modern culture has been met by accepting the device of specialization. Versatile minds, capable of taking all knowledge for their province, are far rarer to-day than in Elizabethan times; indeed it has begun to be considered presumption to attempt proficiency in more than one field of learning. Yet co-ordinating minds are always urgently needed, and the progress of one science often depends upon its being brought into relation with another. Either a further increase in accumulated but undigested information, or a decline of mental capacity in the workers serving those sciences, or both, would have the effect of bringing major progress to a halt and of preventing a synthesis of sciences either for the practical good of the community or for the attainment of truer philosophical perspectives.

The relation of intelligence to the type of interests, particularly social and recreational interests, must next be considered, for the latter react subtly yet strongly on the individual personality as a whole, and consequently upon the effectiveness of the individual as a member of society.

In a research in which children's preferences for various tests were studied, the present writer found that the obtained order of preference was practically the reverse of the order of '*g*' saturation. Above a certain modest intelligence demand the occupations were most liked which demanded least use of intelligence. The same is found with school subjects; the brilliant child may prefer Mathematics, which is highly '*g*' saturated, but the dull child takes a natural interest principally in handwork, games and simple repetitive tasks.

In the recent research on popular reading habits, mentioned above, a literary scholar may scornfully compare the

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literary standard of a modern tabloid with that of an the accepted newspaper of 1850, added some scathing comments on the numerous intervening decades of free and compulsory education. But, as indicated in the discussion on demostatic level, the difference is far more simply explained as being due to the increased social range in the reading public, necessarily accompanied by an increased percentage of readers from the lower ranges of the intelligence distribution curve, a change equivalent to a decline in the average mental capacity of the reading public. Even so the decline in standards might not have occurred without the newspaper magnates' devotion to "supplying the public with what it wants". But had this not been done on commercial grounds it would have been done on grounds of freedom; indeed in most fields of recreation it is impracticable to prevent people doing the things for which their level of intelligence best fits them. It is a short-lived mistake to force Aldous Huxley on people who want all-in wrestling, or Beethoven on those who can only enjoy the crudest of cinema drama.

When coercion by schoolmaster and highbrow ceases because of its fruitlessness, a more subtle kind of coercion in the reverse direction will have to be taken into account.

Once free expression is conceded it is clear that the type which constitutes the mode of the intelligence distribution is going to become the most loudly expressed. Owing to the emotional force of the gregarious instinct and the wear and tear which the individual constantly suffers in trying to detach his reactions from those of the dominant average, the modes of expression of the more intelligent are always constrained towards those of that average. Without a sharper splitting of the social life of intellectual classes this is inevitable, and since the intellectual classification is not the same as social classification, being less organized, only societies based on special interests keep the rarer interests alive.

These psychological forces quickly bring in their train material and economic associates. Thus when publishing becomes a purely commercial proposition, no publisher is likely to take on a 'highbrow' author with small circulation when he can employ a 'best-seller' author. The more widely used

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commodity actively pushes that desired by a few people off the market, whether that minority happens to be merely eccentric or culturally important.

Some alienation of the recreational and cultural interests of various classes may well occur if we continue to facilitate, through equalization of opportunity, the sorting out of classes according to intelligence, and if the natural variability of intelligence is at the same time increased through the present birth-rate trends. In any case any fall in the I.Q. level of the mode itself must result in a significant impoverishment and stultification of the cultural life of the average and the superior.

Finally we have to consider a general change towards which many primary and secondary changes are working. We have seen that there must be some decline in the cultural level attained by education, and some arrest in economic progress. To these effects must be added a decrease within the community as a whole of qualities of foresight and resistance to suggestibility, for deficiency in these is particularly characteristic of persons of defective intelligence.

Increasing deflection strain not alleviated by any deliberate or accidental lowering of cultural demands may be reacted to, as we have seen, by individual delinquency. But since all the above changes in education and economics, the diminished foresight and increased suggestibility, are such as to produce minor or major internal or external sufferings or calamities, the course of history may well lead to adjustment by way of increased inhibition rather than by way of appropriate reduction of deflection strain.

In that case two responses are possible; either the traditional reaction to frustration by religious emotion and observance or the newer expression of thwarting through the phantasy of the novel, and the cinema and T.V. This phantasy expression is today reaching tremendous dimensions, and we have probably not seen the end of its development or begun to appreciate its damaging effects on 'reality thinking' habits concerned in other spheres of life.

As regards the increase in a religious type of adaptation, it is clear that the trend of rationalist education may be powerfully

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against this, but the increased suggestibility and limitation of mental range are in its favor. And constructive rationalist notions are bound quickly to reach their demostatic level, whereas the cruder symbolisms and approximations to the same truths contained in religion and religious cults will readily acquire, owing to the bulge in the lower ranges of the I.Q. distribution curve, a far higher psychic investment energy. The imponderables, especially in this final calculation, are too many to justify the statement that a back-to-religion movement in the conventional sense of religion is probable, but the rough draft of a formula for the social response to an I.Q. decline can at least be given, and one possible solution of it is clearly an increase in religious forms of self-expression.

Summary

This thesis, elaborated partly on experimental and partly on analytical grounds, indicates that the probable consequences of a downward shift in the intelligence distribution curve are as follows: 1) A fall in academic standards in the schools; 2) A change in the curriculum of schools towards less abstract and generalized studies; 3) An increased cost of education; 4) Increased unemployment in the less-skilled occupations; 5) Decrease in the average real earning capacity of the community as a whole; 6) A rise in the frequency of delinquency (unless there is a deliberate lowering of moral standards) or/and proneness to aggression between nations; 7) Alternatively, if inhibitory forces prevail, either (*a*) an increase in the social equipment provided for phantasy compensations, or (*b*) an increase in religious expression; 8) An increase in the percentage of people adopting extreme or uncompromising political view-points; 9) A lowering of the intensity of cultural life and a diminution in the rate of scientific discoveries and other specialized advances; 10) A shift of cultural and recreational interests to cruder tastes and forms of expression, together with an increased divergence of interest between different groups and a greater domination by the average; 11) A check to the growth of social and political freedom and a reversion to a more detailed prescription of individual behavior.

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MARRIAGE AND FAMILY AMONG CHINA'S MINORITY NATIONALITIES AS VIEWED FROM BEIJING†

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The People's Republic of China consists of many nationalities which have a variety of forms of marriage and family. Whatever form it may assume, family is an important link in the social structure. Maintenance of the family's relationship with society not only determines the happiness of the individual family members, but also plays a role in promoting, or, by contrast, resisting social and cultural change.

In this century, Chinese society has undergone and is still undergoing drastic change. This has put the issue of marriage and the family among the minority nationalities encompassed within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China on the government's agenda for modification by means of applied ethnology. Among other goals, the government of the PRC believes that the population explosion among these minorities should be curbed, and that the reform of their backward matrimonial customs can be engineered by ethnologists who should investigate their matrimonial customs and use ethnology to promote the desired changes among the various minority nationalities.

To illustrate this let us therefore survey the social development of the minority nationalities and their diverse forms of marriage and family, while paying close attention to the government's desire to reshape the traditional outlook on marriage (i.e. marriage as an institution intended to facilitate

† The publication of this paper should not be taken as implying the agreement of the editors with any implied value judgements expressed by the author. However, the paper provides an interesting insight into the current use of applied anthropology in the People's Republic of China.

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procreation) so that it may be possible to curb the population explosion in order to improve the quality of life. Research is necessary to help explain the persistence of historical matrimonial customs among the minority nationalities and the reasons for their resistance to government-promoted reforms.

Many nationalities in China regard marriage as a means to produce male heirs to continue the family line. For them, to have more male heirs is a blessing for the parents. The major reason for this is that in the traditional means of production, i.e. crop cultivation, livestock farming, fishing and hunting, males are the principal productive force.

Before the founding of the People's Republic of China, the low reproduction rate, amounting in places to an actual decline of the population, had reached critical conditions among many of the minority peoples. According to a 1953 investigation carried out by the Department of Health of Women and Children within the Ministry or Health among 5,497 women of the Tibetan, Hui and Han nationalities in three districts in Jiulong County, Sichuan Province, it was found that of some 19,627 children born to them, only 12,008 had survived. The mortality rate was nearly 40 percent! Half of the new-born babies in Wangongsumu, Cenbaerhu Banner, in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, contracted tetanus and 55 percent were born with congenital syphilis. In the Naxi nationality in Yongning, Ninglang County, Yunnan Province, where Azhu marriages prevailed, about a quarter of the women were sterile and venereal disease was widespread. The Ewenki, Oroquen and Hezhen nationalities, which had the smallest populations among the various minorities, were actually declining in number. This worried the government, and immediately after the founding of the People's Republic, a "Program for Health Work Concerning Women and Children in Minority Nationality Regions" was introduced and conditions were gradually improved year by year. This, plus improvements in production, combined to bring about an unprecedented rapid growth in the population among all the minority nationalities. The census statistics of the 14 minority nationalities are shown in Table One.

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TABLE 1: Population Growth of Some Minority Nationalities After 1949

Nationalities	Population (millions) July 1, 1953	Population (millions) July 1, 1964	Population (millions) July 1, 1982	Average Growth Rate 1953/1964 (%)	Time Needed to Double Population (Years)	Average Annual Growth Rate (%) 1964 to 1982	Time Needed to Double Itself (Years) 1964 to 1982
National Total	579.603	691.220	1003.937	1.6	44	2.1	33
Zhuang	6.617	8.386	13.388	2.2	32	2.6	27
Yi	3.254	3.381	5.453	0.3	233	2.7	26
Tibetan	2.776	2.501	3.870	-0.9	-78	2.5	28
Miao	2.511	2.782	5.031	0.9	78	3.3	21
Hui	3.559	4.473	7.219	2.1	33	2.7	26
Uygur	3.640	3.996	5.957	0.9	78	2.8	25
Mongol	1.463	1.966	3.412	2.7	26	3.1	23
Bouyei	1.248	1.348	3.412	2.7	26	3.1	23
Korean	1.120	1.340	1.764	1.6	44	1.5	47
Yao	0.666	0.857	1.403	2.3	30	2.8	25
Hani	0.481	0.629	1.059	2.5	28	2.9	24
Bai	0.667	0.707	1.131	0.5	140	2.6	27
Qiang	0.036	0.049	0.103	2.8	25	4.2	17
Oroqen	0.0023	0.0027	0.0041	1.5	47	2.3	30

(Calculated according to three censuses)

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This table shows that during the period 1953 to 1964, the minority nationalities on the whole had a high birthrate, high death rate and low population growth rate, while others saw their population declining year by year. Between 1964 and 1982, on the other hand, the growth rate of the population of all the minority nationalities accelerated rapidly. The nationalities that formerly had a negative or barely stable growth rate now doubled their numbers within three decades. Such a rapid growth rate is rare even in the history of the world population. The demographics of the minorities now revealed the highest birthrate and lowest death rates in the world. Only the Korean nationality distinguished itself from the others, since its reproduction rate belonged to a modern type of low birthrate/low mortality and slow growth. This was because of the vigorous development of their economy and higher level of education, and also because the Koreans took the lead in practicing family planning in 1972. Such a modern-type, rationally adjusted rate of reproduction of the Korean minority was socially beneficial and resulted in an improvement of living standards, thus forming a fine cycle. By contrast, the growth rate of some minority nationalities surpassed the level that their economic development could support, and their standard of living suffered even though the state rendered them some help every year.

From Table 2 it can be seen that, judging from the population statistics of the various minority nationalities in China, only one or two had the possibility of converting their traditional economy into a modern economy. Therefore, a major task confronting the minority nationalities is to raise their quality of life as much as possible through improving educational systems and making these appropriate to the needs of a modern economy.

Here it is necessary to pay attention to the passive role of some conventional ideas. For instance, the fact that women accounted for 70 percent of the illiterates and semi-illiterates of the minority nationalities was directly related to the attitude toward women and the old idea that "daughters will go to other families." If the educational level of women, who make up half

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TABLE 2: Level of Education and Occupational Make-up of China's Minority Nationalities with Population of More than One Million.

Nationality	College Graduates per 10,000	College Students per 10,000	Senior Middle School Students per 10,000	Junior Middle School Students per 10,000	Primary School Pupils per 10,000	Brain Workers (%)	Technicians among them (%)	Physical Workers (%)	Industrial and Transport. Workers among them (%)	Percent of Il-literates and semi-illiterates in people over 12 years old, Inclusive
National Figures	42.8	15.5	662.2	1775.8	3537.7	7.9	5.1	92.1	15.9	31.9
Minority Nationalites	26.9	10.1	455.0	1216.0	3021.0	6.1	4.0	93.9	7.4	42.6
Mongol	50.5	36.9	759.0	1664.0	3462.0	14.2	9.1	85.8	9.8	28.6
Hui	50.4	18.1	630.0	1639.0	2600.0	9.0	5.6	91.0	22.7	41.2
Tibetan	11.7	1.5	95.0	323.0	1630.0	5.5	3.4	94.5	3.9	74.8
Uygar	18.6	7.0	350.0	1017.0	3318.0	4.0	1.0	96.0	7.2	42.1
Miao	8.9	2.1	198.0	712.0	2485.0	2.9	1.8	97.1	1.8	58.0
Yi	6.1	1.3	107.0	603.0	2347.0	3.1	2.0	96.9	2.0	61.6
Zhuang	16.9	4.1	539.0	1383.0	3683.0	4.6	3.1	95.4	3.5	31.4
Bouyei	10.9	2.4	191.0	855.0	2638.0	3.2	2.1	96.8	1.8	55.8
Korean	157.4	65.2	1857.0	3017.0	2877.0	16.9	10.6	83.1	20.4	10.5
Man	68.1	21.0	915.0	2319.0	3828.0	12.9	8.4	87.1	23.1	17.0
Dong	18.8	6.2	305.6	1068.0	3345.0	4.0	2.5	96.0	2.2	44.6
Yao	9.3	5.4	296.0	770.0	3184.0	7.0	1.8	93.0	1.6	47.7
Bai	30.2	8.0	348.0	1254.0	3436.0	6.3	4.0	93.7	8.9	40.8
Tujia	10.5	2.4	472.0	1106.0	3971.5	4.4	3.0	95.6	3.2	33.4
Hani	2.7	0.9	93.7	166.4	1807.0	2.8	1.8	97.2	1.6	70.4

(Calculated according to a 10-percent sample of the 1982 national census)

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of the population, is not suited to the needs of the society, it will not only obstruct attempts to increase production, but also adversely influence the social status of women, as well as slowing down social progress.

The restriction on economic development by the cost of supporting large numbers of children must not be overlooked either. Table 3 shows that the total coefficient of family support is low in the developed countries but high in developing countries and that the minority nationalities in China, except the Korean nationality, had a coefficient of family support higher than the average level of the PRC and of most developing countries. To lighten the burden of the family on society and lower the coefficient to benefit the cultural and economic development of the minority nationality regions, the only way is to introduce family planning programs and curb the population growth. At present, although the minority nationalities are aware of the urgent need to accelerate their economic development, they do not attach due importance to restricting their rate of population growth. The traditional attitude towards reproduction still prevails in the outlying regions in particular. This deserves special attention from the authorities concerned.

Matrimonial customs, as a product of history, tend to be stable rather than to change drastically with changes in the social and economic basis of a society. I will cite a specific instance. The Naxi nationality in Yongning, Ninglang County, Yunnan Province, where I made three investigations in twenty years, had entered the feudal system as early as the Yuan dynasty in the middle of the 13th century. Despite several hundred years of feudal rule and more than three decades under the socialist system, the Naxi still keep their time-honored matriarchal tradition and many people still live with their male or female Azhu friends without bothering to get married. However, careful research reveals that these ancient matrimonial customs are now at last undergoing a reform in this region. The following two points are the most noteworthy. One is that officials, teachers and medical personnel – whether they work locally or outside of their hometown, or whether they are male

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TABLE 3: Coefficient of Support in 1982

Nationality	Total Coefficient 0 to 14 years old and those above 65/15 to 64	Coefficient of Supporting Children 0 to 14/15 to 64	Coefficient of Supporting Old People above 65/15 to 64
World Average	69.5	59.3	10.2
Developed Countries and Regions	51.5	34.8	16.7
Developing Coun. and Regions	75.4	68.4	7.0
China	62.6	54.6	8.0
China's minority Nationalities	77.6	69.6	8.0
Mongol	75.1	69.0	6.1
Hui	69.2	62.3	6.9
Tibetan	80.5	71.8	4.8
Uygar	83.8	74.3	9.5
Miao	86.8	78.9	7.9
Yi	85.5	78.5	7.0
Zhuang	83.6	74.2	9.4
Bouyei	80.8	71.8	9.0
Korean	47.7	41.7	6.0
Dong	76.4	68.4	8.0
Yao	81.5	73.3	8.2
Bai	77.9	69.8	8.1
Hani	85.2	78.7	6.5
Qiang	93.8	86.8	6.8
Oroqen	82.5	76.8	5.7

1. Statistics involving areas outside China are calculated according to the World Population Statistics of 1982 published by the Population Information Agency of the United States.

2. Statistics concerning China are calculated according to a 10-percent sample of the 1982 national census.

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or female – no longer accept the practice of "visiting marriages," where husband and wife life separately with their parental families; instead, they normally register for marriage according to the state approved matrimonial rites. The other is that the Azhu relationships still found among non-official personnel tend to be more permanent than in the past. Such a trend shows that monogamy can supplant the desire to change sexual partners constantly. We closely followed and studied such changes and expressed our support for their desire to reform the old tradition and pursue a new life. Since their new-style marriages occur as a result of the personal choice of the partners, they seldom break up in divorce.

Similar reforms of social traditions have occurred in various regions, but the residents of towns, and public employees and those who have attended school and engaged in trade outside of their hometowns or who have lived in other places have taken the lead in these changes. However, we should note the persistence of many conventional customs concerning marriage and the family among minority nationalities, which impair peoples' mental health and aspirations. This can be seen from the following examples.

Firstly, arranged and mercenary marriages still prevail to a great extent. The most harmful of such practices is the preference given to marriages between cousins and close relatives. In cases of child marriage of a mature girl and immature boy, or even of the betrothal of new-born babies, were already rare a few years ago, but they have been on the increase with the relaxation of controls and the development of the private sector economy in the countryside. In the outlying regions of the PRC, inhabited by minority nationalities, conventional customs have always shackled people's minds. The country people still live in a closed society and some of them have never even been to the regional towns, so it is not strange that women there are still at the mercy of conventional customs.

Secondly, traces of the old custom of group marriage can still be seen. For some of the minority nationalities, people enjoy sexual freedom both before and after marriage. However, the custom of group marriage in modern times often brings

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misfortune to local people. A clear proof to this argument was the serious spread of venereal disease among the Naxi people in Yongning, Yunnan Province before 1949. In some villages, over 50 percent of the adults had the disease. It was not until the government dispatched medical teams to the province to treat the people after the founding of the People's Republic of China that the disease gradually declined. However, the disease has emerged again in recent years. This necessitates a renewed government vigilance. The custom of "walking" or "visiting" marriage should change as fixed or enduring relations develop further. Many people have felt that it is not conducive to happiness that the spouses should live separately.

Thirdly, early extra-marital sexual relations are rather widespread. Among the Zhuang (Chuang), Dong (Tung), Bouyei (Puyi), Miao, Yao, Yi, Va (Wa) and Jingpo (Chingpo) nationalities, pre-marriage social intercourse is accepted and customary. It is called "playing girls" or "playing boys." When night has fallen, boys and girls get together to have love affairs. In the mountain areas where life is monotonous, people regard this period of romantic life for young people is called the "golden period of life," and neither society nor their parents interfere with them. However, when youngsters loiter out their golden time in sexual play, their studies will inevitably be affected.

Such practices are related to the custom of some nationalities whereby girls do not attend school. As they mature, they concentrate on learning the traditional songs, dances, songs in antiphonal style, sewing, tailoring and embroidery so that they may not fall behind others in the social arts. Their parents, under the influence of traditional attitudes toward women, are for the most part reluctant to support their daughters' education. Of the girls who have entered school, few are serious in their studies. The age of puberty is a major juncture for youngsters of all nationalities. However, many of the minority nationalities encourage the marriage of their children before they mature, and thus follow the footsteps of the older generations. To discard the pursuit of knowledge and to evade government instruction will inevitably affect their lives, and the final result is that social progress will be obstructed.

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Fourthly, feudal superstition still influences the marriages. For some of the minority nationalities, the betrothal is still determined by the parents, matchmakers and the fortune tellers. For some other nationalities, the strength of religion is such that religious canons also influence marriage. For instance, in the nationalities which believe in Islam a man can desert his wife at will while the wife has no freedom to seek divorce. This custom has been largely discarded in the towns, particularly among educated women, but still prevails in the countryside.

Fifthly, polygamy and polyandry have not vanished completely. In the past, polygamy was a widespread matrimonial form among the upper strata of the minority nationalities and polyandry was the matrimonial custom of the Tibetan and Pumi nationalities, and also of the Naxi people in one or two regions. Both are still openly practiced in some outlying parts of Muli County, Sichuan Province. In 1981, this author made a comprehensive investigation of the 131 households containing 1,055 people in a village named Eya in that county and found out that of the married people there were 76 monogamous couples, accounting for 53.3 percent of the total marriages, 46 marriages in which brothers shared a wife, accounting for 31.7 percent of the total, and 13 cases of sisters sharing a husband, accounting for 16 percent of the total. Although monogamous marriages constituted the majority, the number of people involved in the polygamous and polyandric marriages was larger than the number engaged in monogamous marriages. The percentage or such marriages was also much higher than that of the well known Tibetan polygamous marriages, which usually account for less than 20 percent of the marriages in that nation.

In short, investigations show that the matrimonial customs of China's minority nationalities are an evolving mixture of the past. At present, the whole world is faced with the challenge of the pressure for modernization. For the developing countries, it is high time to accelerate their process of modernization. In the PRC the author thinks that it is also high time that ethnology should be employed to play a role in the modernization process. We should keep a close watch on changes in the

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customs and cultures of the minority nationality regions, investigate the trend of these developments and the conditions required for change, so that we may estimate the capability of different minority nationalities to adapt to change, learn how to accelerate the process of reforming the prevailing customs, and develop techniques for evaluating the success of such reforms.

Reform is the demand of the times. It will spread to all fields. The reform of the traditional customs and culture is bound to be accelerated. In this process, applied ethnology can and ought to play a greater role.

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THE HONEY BEE DANCE LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY

Subhash C. Kak
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Karl von Frisch was awarded the Nobel Prize for physiology and medicine in 1973 to honour his work on animal behavior, especially his theory that honey bees communicate by a dance language. This theory was presented first by von Frisch in the 1940's and within a few years it became quite popular as it suggested symbolic communication in a non-human species.

That foraging honey bees, who have found a food source, perform a dance on their return to the hive has been known for a long time. In fact the first recorded reference to this is in Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* (330 B.C.) (Wenner and Wells 1990, page 270), where he appears to suggest that the recruited bees follow the forager to the food source. In this original form there is nothing very striking about this dance, since it serves only to attract the attention of the other bees to the foraging bee who leads the recruits to the source of food, and it is clear that bees and other animals do have the capacity to associate and remember visual maps. The process described by Aristotle does not constitute a language.

The theory of von Frisch (1947) claimed that the runs and the turns of the dance were correlated with the distance and direction of the food source from the hive. Von Frisch developed several experiments to verify the theory. He claimed that while honey bees use both odor and dance language cues for ordinary communication his experiments demonstrated that the bees could locate the food source with just the dance information. But even before he was awarded the Nobel prize, a zoologist named Adrian Wenner found that his own experiments went against von Frisch's predictions. With better controls against odor cues, Wenner (1967) found that the bees were unable to locate the food source with dance alone. Wenner now worked to disseminate his odor theory, but subsequent to a paper in Nature with his collaborator Wells (1973) he found

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himself barred for many years by the editors of major scientific publications from presenting his results.

The first and the only attempt to meet Wenner's objections came through the results of the doctoral dissertation of James Gould (1974, 1975). He conceded that the design of the experiments of von Frisch had been flawed and that his earlier results could all be accounted for by Wenner's locale-odor hypothesis. Gould argued that the controversy arose due to a difference in training techniques: Wenner's training method encouraged bees to rely on odor, while von Frisch's training method led them to use the dance cues. But this distinction has not been conceded by Wenner.

The 1980's saw a renewed challenge to the dance theory (Rosin 1980, 1988). In the face of evidence against the original dance language hypothesis of von Frisch, even its proponents now grant the locale-odor mechanism a role in the communication amongst bees. But, as argued by Rosin (1988), these proponents do not, amongst themselves, agree on a 'single' dance language. Says Rosin: "There are numerous contradictory versions of the 'dance language' hypothesis that concur only in the belief that somewhere, somehow, some honey bees use 'dance language' information, but disagree on practically anything else." This raises questions regarding sociology of science and the scientific method (Veldink 1989, Wenner 1989). It appears that once the dance language hypothesis was adopted by the scientific establishment in animal behaviour as a fact, all challenges to it were summarily brushed aside. It is not very well appreciated that science is a collective, social process and the development of each discipline proceeds within a well-circumscribed framework. These issues as well as the history of the dance language hypothesis have been discussed at length in a new book by Wenner and Wells (1990).

More on the Dance Language Hypothesis

We now briefly present an analysis of the dance language hypothesis from an information theory perspective. One reason that the controversy has lasted for about three decades is that this hypothesis has been interpreted differently by the various

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protagonists. One might talk of two versions of the hypothesis for convenience. In the 'strong' version bees communicate distance information entirely by dance, while in the 'weak' version bees use dance information to find the general vicinity of the feeding station and then use odor information to pinpoint the station. Most recently, some defenders of the dance hypothesis have spoken only of the 'weak' hypothesis, as is the case with Seeley's (1991) review of the book by Wenner and Wells.

It appears that the controversy is partly of a semantic nature. What does language mean? According to Webster's Collegiate Dictionary one definition is "signs, sounds, gestures, or marks having understood meanings." Operationally, this means that a language must be associated with a vocabulary of basic signs and sounds and a grammar that allows the signs or sounds to be combined into an unlimited number of statements. The statements of a language must have the capacity to embrace a potentially infinite variety of possibilities. Put differently, a language allows representation and communication of knowledge about the world.

The verification evidence furnished by the defenders of the hypothesis only establishes that the honey bee dance is somewhat correlated with the distance and direction information; it does not follow that the dance is a language for the bees. To establish that it is essential to demonstrate that just the dance information is enough to guide the bees to the feeding station.

The evidence garnered by Wenner and associates appears to establish that the dance does not represent a language to the bees, whereas the verification evidence indicates that there might still be a dance language for the scientist. The analogy of this distinction in human terms may be seen in the case of a person who has ingested mood altering drugs. The change in the blood chemistry defines a language for the chemist and not for the layperson, who might reach the same conclusion based on other cues.

Another issue of interest is the cognitive capacity of the honey bee. Note that information is a logarithmic function of the total number of possibilities. Defining distance and direction

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requires information which is potentially infinite. Now if one were to say that this definition is being made only approximately, the direction information could be finite but the distance information would still be potentially infinite. That is why dealing with distance information requires abstract concepts, and only humans appear to be capable of such reasoning. Now one might argue that the distance information is defined approximately only within a certain range of a few hundred meters, which would render it finite. It should be noted, however, that the foraging distance of the bees can be over several kilometers. But it is hard to see how a cognitive model which works on distance information in only a small range would operate. Nevertheless, one might visualize associative neural models, such as the one proposed by the author (Kak 1990), that allow cues, in addition to the one on direction alone, in the dance of the bee. These models define a process similar to the one where a few notes of a song recall the entire tune. It is possible, therefore, that a dance may carry cues strongly correlated with certain aspects of the find of the food source that may be correctly interpreted by the bee's cognitive apparatus. However, such a mechanism could only work for standard, or common, settings for the food source, and it could not describe novel settings. But if such a process is at work, it would require the design of a careful experiment to test it. On the other hand, processing of odor information is easily understood by neurophysiological models.

The above arguments indicate that the dance of the bees could not communicate distance information to the bees, but it leaves open the possibility that it might communicate approximate direction information. However this latter possibility does not qualify as a language. It is essential to reiterate that the associative visual map built by the foraging bee will allow this bee to find the food source again. Such a bee can then guide other bees, who are attracted to follow this bee by the dance as well as the odor picked up by the bee, to the food source. Perhaps it is in this limited sense that a simultaneous consideration of dance and odor cues might be relevant.

The latest results of Wenner and Wells (1990 pages

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299-311) demonstrate that even the weak version of the hypothesis is invalid. This conclusion was reached from observations from an experiment which was so designed so that the recruit bees could use either dance language or odor cues.

Why Did The Controversy Stay Alive this Long?

One might ask why has the controversy lingered for so long, especially since the hypothesis itself is relatively simple. This can be answered only by considering the sociology of science. Thomas Kuhn (1962) documented how major shifts in scientific paradigms are accepted only after fierce challenge. Wenner and Wells claim: "Neither is evidence the most important factor in the resolution of controversies, contrary to standard belief in science. Adequate evidence, as obtained from crucial experiments, cannot immediately override emotional attachment to pet theories. That is because paradigm holds dictate to the participants how that evidence shall be viewed. Thus it is that adequate evidence, while absolutely essential in the resolution of controversies, is necessary although not sufficient during that resolution." [page 266]

The reasons why the dance language hypothesis of von Frisch was so eagerly adopted in the 1940's and 1950's is in itself an interesting story. Von Frisch's experiments did indicate a correlation between observation and the dance language hypothesis. But as Wenner and Wells argue (1990) these experiments were seriously flawed. They point to several specific counts on which these experiments and the analysis thereof could be criticized. The main ones are: (1) negative results were ignored, (2) the importance of conditioning was not recognized, and (3) there was lack of adequate controls in experimental design.

The other reasons relate to the milieu in which the dance language theory was advanced. At the end of World War II there was a great faith in the dawning of a new golden age. The von Frisch hypothesis was so sweeping in scope that it could conceivably completely alter man's understanding of animal behaviour. This is why once a few leading scientists accepted this hypothesis to be true, it rapidly became the dominant

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paradigm. In an early promotion of this hypothesis, August Krogh, the 1920 winner of the Nobel prize in medicine, wrote:

> The series of experiments constitutes a most beautiful example of what the human mind can accomplish by tireless effort on a very high level of intelligence. But I would ask you to give some thought also to the mind of the bees. I have no doubt that some will attempt to explain the performances of the bees as the result of reflexes and instincts ... for my part I find it difficult to assume that such perfection and flexibility in behavior can be reached without some kind of mental processes going on in the small heads of the bees. [Krogh 1948 quoted by Wenner and Wilks 1990]

But this endorsement does point to the unexplored area of intentionality in animal behaviour and animal communication. Clearly linguistic capability presupposes intentionality. Put differently, language presupposes that the animal has the neural apparatus for knowledge representation and internal discourse. Oakley (1985) summarizes the evidence thus:

> [It appears] that spatial mapping is an early representational acquisition, and seems to be well developed in all mammals irrespective of grade of neocortical differentiation ... Social modelling, including representations of the self, may have only a rudimentary form in the rat compared to the more impressively neocortically evolved groups, such as primates and cetaceans (dolphins, porpoises and whales)... Language in humans is based on the most complex representational system of which we are aware and is primarily neocortically based... It is possible that human language developed as a means of internal discourse based on acoustic representations, and only secondarily acquired the role of communication with others. Much of animal reasoning, particularly in primates and cetaceans, may be mediated by a similar internal discourse, though not necessarily an acoustic one.

One can analyze behaviour to determine linguistic capability. Behaviour is a response to the internal state and the stimulus from the environment. Whether an animal possesses a language, verbal or non-verbal, would depend on the richness

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of the internal states to support a grammar. Clues to this can be obtained from the repertoire of responses. It does appear that some higher mammals, like chimpanzees and gorillas, are capable of a genuine non-verbal language (Blakemore and Grienfield 1987). But studies of this kind are in their infancy and very little can be extrapolated beyond the species that have been studied.

Conclusions

The major conclusion for the historian of science to draw from the honey bee dance controversy is that challenge of established paradigms, even when the evidence compels such a challenge, is extremely hard. Once scientists and scholars invest parts of their career in support of a paradigm, it becomes a sort of a self-betrayal to abandon it. This is why Planck (1950) claimed that often only death can separate scientists from their pet theories.

One important reason that the von Frisch dance language hypothesis survived so long is because questions about the process supporting the hypothesis were not asked. The question to ask is whether the brain of the bee is capable of processing of such abstract information. And if the answer to that is yes, then how does the cognitive mechanism work? The protagonists, under pressure from conflicting evidence, tried to present their hypotheses in a form that would be unfalsifiable. Thus it has been claimed that both dance language and odor are used by the bees. Unhappily for the protagonists, such a modified hypothesis continues to be at variance with the evidence.

Another important reason why the controversy has continued this long is that the protagonists have interpreted key words differently. Thus the supporters of the dance language may now mean it to stand for just a protocol to attract the bees to the site of food. But the opponents are justified in claiming that such a protocol does not represent a true language.

The problem of animal communication, which is merely one aspect of animal behaviour, is related to the old paradox of determinism and free will (Kak 1986, Kak 1987). Physics, which ultimately lies at the basis of chemistry and biology, does not

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allow free will, but no person would deny the reality of his free choices. The system of language, and its use to represent knowledge, validates this belief in the reality of free will. Somehow the postulate that only humans have linguistic capability appears to make the determinism/free will paradox less threatening. However, as described earlier, one might talk of several levels of knowledge representation capability that would embrace all animals. While only the behaviorists would describe animal processes in terms of mechanistic and reflexive associations between stimuli and responses, even those who would wish to introduce consciousness as a fundamental category of nature do not know how that can be done within the current structure of science. Roger Penrose (1989) has summarized the various issues involved in considering a framework which allows both the determinism of physics and the apparent intentionality of the animal. Yet such speculations merely give intimations of controversies that will continue to erupt in this field.

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THE NEED FOR ORGANISMIC PSYCHOLOGY IN PSYCHOTHERAPY

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The Aim of This Paper

The aim of this paper is to return to an appreciation of the patient as an organic whole, a view which is central to good evaluation and insightful treatment processes. To further this aim I will describe some theories which emphasize the person as a whole unit, highlighting dysfunctional processes without ignoring the adaptive needs operating in the context of everyday adjustments. I will make explicit the connections between "behavior cycles" and specific components of organismic theory and therapy, thereby presenting a framework for understanding the components of dynamic processes without losing sight of the whole person. The philosophy of organismic psychology stresses the attainment of maximum autonomy; that is, freedom of the intact organism to function as a whole participating individual, relieved of traumatically-imposed inhibitions and externally-imposed authoritarian restrictions.

The behavior cycle (P. Jacob, 1954) is a description of the process whereby an organism defines and moves toward a goal to satisfy its needs. We introduce this as a platform from which we can study how *process* glues idea and behavior together in a shared meaning: integrated behavior unfolds from within. This view presents a behavioral act as the outcome of an integrated process involving a drive or need, a goal, and steps taken as adjustments to reaching the goal. As such it is an organismic view of behavior. When the process is applied to psychodynamic theory, it leads us to view life processes as evolving and also as parts of a personalized organismic entity with unique and fundamental meanings.

The idea that we should begin any observation of behavior (including thinking, speaking and feeling) with a complete act instead of structural units is in harmony with the emphasis on

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wholes. The well-recognized evolution of mental functions exemplifies an organismic process which is continuous, is rooted in the needs of the organism, and follows the same general formula. It does unfold from within, just as a fertilized ovum unfolds into continuously higher forms, directed by and integrated as an extension from the preceding stages.

The Impetus for This Paper

Therapy is in a ferment which compels reevaluations of our conceptual tools. Classical Psychoanalysis is in rapid decline, for many reasons. Major defects have been caused by the concretization of techniques and of analytic concepts. Freud's flimsy evidence for many of his pronouncements also detracted from the validity of his earlier theories (Eysenck, 1990; Recer, 1991). In addition, the classical approach has been deemed lacking because it is reductionistic instead of whole-person oriented. One obvious corollary – "Freud's pessimism" – arises from the failure of this approach to incorporate emergent evolution (creative evolution), which emphasizes the growth of the whole evolving person.

Masterson (1988) holds that Freud 'took for granted' modern views of 'the whole self'. The evidence for that appears highly questionable when psychoanalysis is viewed from the stance of organismic psychology, Kohut's (1971) revitalizing changes, some of the criticisms Eysenck (op cit) made while touting his behavior modification, and actual observations made by Spitz (1945), J. Jacob (1972), Mahler (1968), Bowlby (1969) and many, many others who, like Piaget, made observations of children during their developmental, and especially their 'pregenital', years.

The old guard has not acknowledged Freud's errors in theoretical positions based on inadequate evidence (Recer, op cit), nor utilized subsequent findings of the decisive importance of the "pregenital" years, and the aberrant behavior resulting from 'fragmentation anxiety'. "Sensory deprivation" dehumanizes infants also, and Spitz' observations firmly established this point fifty years ago; Harlow (Masserman, 1968) did the same with monkeys. Classicists also frequently seem obtuse to the

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impact of other childhood deprivations (what *wasn't* available) which dehumanize and distort subsequent growth, and these therapists appear to me to show abysmal ignorance of the dynamics of the whole organism.

The pretense of the psychoanalytic school of being scientific and the vanity behind such a posture have led to many wild assertions, and done little to open the hearts of the broader community to the healing propensities of dynamic psychology, artfully applied: for therapy *is* a corrective experience. The population of analysts has rightfully been criticized for lack of spontaneity and for infringement on patients' autonomy, a therapeutic stance which misses the whole point of therapy and has inhibited the growth of some analysts themselves.

In my opinion, a still more disastrous trend for years has been the tendency of many psychotherapists to imitate the Classical Analytic "stance" that is appropriate only within a Classical therapeutic process. That is, the face-to-face, interactive dyad accomplishes much more for patients who *need* to incorporate trustworthy objects and to have reflected back the therapists' spontaneous and hopefully sincere reactions – reactions which will implicitly change as the relationship matures.

Clearly, we are turning to the broader views of psychobiology established by Adolf Meyer (Lief, 1948), often called the 'Dean of American Psychiatry,' and recently 'revisited' during several separate discussions by Mel Sabshin (Coleman, 1991). In summary, the aforementioned defects of classical analysis and its practical indifference to biological processes and to epidemiology make it insufficient as a total framework for understanding and treating human beings, and suggest the need to reframe our concepts organismically.

PART I

Dilemmas for Psychoanalysts

It is clear that traditional psychoanalysis ignores areas of knowledge emphasizing the whole person and often presents a narrow view of the individual. We need to examine some

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samples of classical theory and technique from the more comprehensive framework of organismic psychology. We want to identify and indicate the need for a theoretical reassessment in order to avoid the parochialism inherent in Classical institutes (cf. Sandler, 1991).

Attrition Among Classical Psychoanalysts

One of the facts we must take into consideration is revealed in a letter from the administrative offices of the American Psychoanalytic Association (1989) to the effect that '516 Life Members in the Association represent 31% of the active membership, and we anticipate that at an increasing rate active members will achieve Life Membership status in the next few years.' It is therefore clear that the membership of the American Psychoanalytic Association is dropping rapidly, contains less than 2,000 active members, and of course needs financial help to keep the organization alive. Similarly, the more liberal American Academy of Psychoanalysis totals 804 members, including candidates and psychiatric associates.

In contrast, the American Psychiatric Association has expanded consistently for the past decade, from almost 24,000 in 1977 to 35,168 in 1989. This association made a major shift for DSM-III (1980) to *a theoretical diagnostic* manual which has been a real impetus for all to review the role of theory in therapy, as well as diagnosis, and to review the theories themselves.

Practically speaking, economic factors – the scarcity of health dollars – are revising our *definitions* of health, forcing the reassignment of patients to new breeds of therapists. A society which will not afford asylum for the insane will not subsidize through its health insurance policies the costs of four or five hour-long visits each week for those able to function outside of institutions. For these reasons training in dynamic psychology should be reviewed, made attractive and available to all those working in mental health.

In addition, with lessened demand, few analysts can survive economically without including patients for psychotherapy on a short term basis (Staton, 1989), and many have taken on roles

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in hospital settings. The economic ferment may relegate psychoanalysis to the treatment of the wealthy, or to those willing to devote all their income to the major task of improving the quality of their lives. This is a valid time to question techniques and the conceptual tools which need updating, and the possibilities of eliciting more energy from the patients in the resolution of their personality defects. What we are proposing is not antithetical to psychoanalytic insights, but our approach is fundamental to understanding the psychology of adjustment, which is the essence of organismic psychology.

Psychopharmacology

The pharmacologists as well as some geneticists make short shrift of long-drawn-out psychotherapy--and if recent medications alter obsessive-compulsive behavior, as seems probable, we analysts may have to do another double-take on our theories.

Dr. Frank Ayd, Jr., the editor of "The International Drug Therapy Newsletter", wrote in *The Psychiatric Times*, "Readings and Reflections" (1989):

> How many American psychiatrists would today agree with this editorial comment by Mullen in the *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry* (23: 17-20, 1989)? "Psychoanalysis is in decline. Its methods disbar it from serious consideration as a natural science, and its claims to therapeutic efficacy are in tatters. The role it performed earlier in the century as part of the narrative knowledge of Western culture is in eclipse. Trainees in psychiatry are still, however, on occasion seduced by its faded charms, to their detriment. The time has come to relegate psychoanalysis to its proper place as a movement in the historical development of psychiatry and a ripple in Twentieth Century Western culture." Many will disagree with this polemic. It is cited because it is provocative and warrants serious thought.

In addition, the public demand now exists for all of us with medical training to use appropriate psychotropic medications when indicated, or to recognize their potential and their impact

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if we "pass the buck" to those versed in the use of psychotrophic drugs. Those contemptuous of the use of psychotropic drugs may include those who have not kept up with the tremendous developments in the field.

Rigid Techniques

A letter by Robban A. Sica, M.D. (1989), states that "...the goal of psychotherapy and spiritual growth is to foster greater self-awareness, to express individuality and autonomy...[and] many organizations (cultist or not) work in a counter direction to that natural growth process." For example, exclusive use of the couch effectively eliminates one of the most essential modes of communication (J. Jacob, 1972), i.e., the nonverbal messages in face-to-face contact. Studies of infants give adequate proof of the immense value of eye-to-eye contact with the 'bonded object.' The lack of spontaneous interactions between patient and therapist breeds distrust, and each loses the awareness that only spontaneous interactions reveal. Many patients not utilizing the truly classical technique often request the use of the couch, during periods they feel the need for self-exploration without outside interactions.

Classical Technique does not reflect what we now realize was Freud's original technique and actual behavior in clinical situations. Oral histories and publications dealing with his involvements with his patients give us a different picture of Freud, the human being. He was at times warm, affectionate and not above giving money to patients caught up in severe circumstances (Gay, 1988).

In contrast, many of us in the field of mental health and of medicine are a burdened lot. Janet Malcolm (1983) emphasized this point in her description of a rigid psychoanalyst, "Dr. Green," 'a slight man, with a vivid, impatient, unsmiling face' who 'looks back on past cases with misery and guilt over blunders he has made.' On the other hand, it may be that we no longer feel challenged by our work, as opposed to Jacoby's description in *The Repression of Psychoanalysis* (1985): "...A reforming zeal permeated early psychoanalysis; and its social

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environs reverberated with a cultural rebellion...." We also seemingly are not in touch with the simple joys of living, the beauty of mental functioning, the fascination of physiology, the neatness of language and all our implicit controls of expression. We need to be aware of the wisdom of children and of non-brain-washed humble folk.

Alice Miller perhaps furnished us the best clue to this issue of "burdened therapists" in her *Drama of the Gifted Child* (1981), wherein the children described were virtually trained to be sensitive and intuitive in order to retain parental 'love' and support.

The "ideal therapist" as projected in some of the literature of bygone days (especially British) would behave more like a catatonic schizophrenic (mute, omnipotent, and if prodded to speak, omniscient) than as a warm, relatively mature human being, capable of an honest dialogue.

A therapist who is afraid of spontaneity is not in a good-faith relationship, and can not discover the countertransference that might destroy the mutual comprehension of organismic processes as they occur. In suppressing spontaneous expression on the part of the therapist, classicists also suppress their discovery of what they feel, and mean, and of who they are. Theoretically, these discoveries of true selves had already been made during each analyst's 'training analysis,' but self-discovery is an on-going rather than a static process. We often do not know what *we* think and feel until we articulate our implicit underlying processes: i.e., we often don't know what we think until we hear ourselves say it. Fear of such spontaneity is groundless, in that with proper training we modify impetuous outbursts in the same non-conscious manner with which we modify words in a sentence, or avoid indecencies in polite company.

This lack of spontaneity has done much to alienate patients and mitigate the effectiveness of therapists' interpretations, stultifying the real diadic relationship. The imposing of theoretical assumptions further destroys patients' *feelings of their own inner continuity*: hence every interpretation ideally should be a

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question, not a pronouncement, so that the patients feel for, locate and experience their correct answers in their own idiom, 'out of their own guts,' so to speak, and within their own sense of self.

Our thesis would be that good therapists are experienced in the processes of living, not beholden to our mentors, and are relieved sufficiently of the need for personal defenses to be able to comprehend experiences intuitively, as whole gestalts. We hopefully understand the working concepts of denial, repression, regression, and other defenses we are trained and forced to use in our own processes of growing up, while maintaining an interactive and human relationship with patients.

Ossified Theories

Although the *deification* of Freud, while nauseating to many, is not serious, the *reification* of his dynamics threatens to destroy the current use and enjoyment of his contributions. Reification has concretized many psychoanalytic techniques as well as theories. Certain assumptions about conflict theory are questionable, as well as our still more erratic reliance on the concept of the transference neurosis. The concept of the analyst as a blank screen is truly reminiscent of the Emperor's new clothes, and a standing insult to the sensitivities and perceptions of our patients.

Psychoanalysis places central importance on the Oedipal complex and 'castration anxiety' while ignoring the greater importance of preoedipal trauma. In contrast, the significance of early trauma is summarized succinctly by Howard Baker (1989) in his review of a book by David Krueger (1989):

> Difficulties in the earliest infant-mother interactions have sequelae that are likely to color and distort all subsequent developmental efforts. If very early empathic attunement is seriously impeded, children will have ongoing confusion about essential aspects of the definition, integrity, and boundaries of both their physical and psychological self-experiences. The person is left seriously encumbered with the potential for severe fragmen-

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> tation anxiety or depleted depression. When confronted with either a narcissistic insult or a disruption in a sustaining relationship, *these people are forced to turn frantically and without concern for long-term consequences to any alternative that seems to provide a sense of boundary, cohesion, and vigor*. [Italics added; and, amen.]

This statement is brought up to highlight the extreme importance of the so-called pregenital years, which are neglected in the application of Classical Analytic theory. In classical theory the "Oedipal conflict" is purported to dominate developmental problems, and fears are attributed to 'castration anxiety' for males and females [sic]. The ubiquitous generalization to all fears of the concept of castration anxiety – the fear also supposedly inhibiting incestuous behavior – creates an artificial gap in our comprehension of evolutionary processes, easily seen when we study all of our fears and the fears of other primates. (This view would probably horrify Janet Malcolm's 'Dr. Green' and his conservative mentors.)

Innumerable articles in the major psychiatric journals, without mentioning psychoanalytic theory, present reasonably objective studies of the effects of divorce, child abuse, childhood illness, parental illness and other traumas without having to distort the data with any insistence that the Oedipal conflict is always involved in the subsequent pathology. [Several literally abandoned homosexuals and several sexually-abused anorexic females in my practice made successful adjustments when the issues of *abandonment* by their bonded caretakers were resolved. They truly fit the view quoted from Baker, above.]

Freud's over-generalized theory of castration anxiety was enunciated on the basis of one of the least tenable of his case studies (Little Hans) wherein the parents provided the data. The very *patness* of some early psychoanalytic theories often delayed other more important realizations, including our comprehension of fragmentation anxiety (fear of the disintegration of ego functions) and separation anxiety (especially of abandonment, which can include *not* being understood), with accompanying fears of helplessness and death. The same

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patness resulted in the wide-spread acceptance of exaggerated theories in the area of psychosomatic medicine, theories which were being 'recalled' during my analytic training in the nineteen fifties.

There are areas of Freudian theory lacking credibility because of Freud's unexpected lack of temerity. Jeffry Masson was fired as director of the Freud archives, and fell out of favor among psychoanalysts in part because he had written that Freud, father of modern psychoanalysis, knew the evidence was to the contrary when he declared that "women usually fantasized claims of childhood sexual abuse." Masson's (1985) point against Freud was based on his belief that the claims of childhood sexual abuse were and are genuine and not fundamentally fantasies. Our recently gained 'permission' to speak publicly of sexual issues has resulted in a flood of press reports concerning childhood abuse, and I feel that Masson performed a service in forcing the attention of psychoanalysts to a possible revision in classical psychoanalytic theory, even though the 'Vicars of Freud' can prove that Freud held on to both views. Some institutes did not.

Also, Freud earlier joined in the attempt to suppress Ferenczi (Lum, 1988; Rachman, 1989), especially on the point of the reality of child abuse. Freud's own narcissistic corruption likewise showed up in his antagonisms to other dissenters (cf. Jung, Rank, Klein, and Adler: in Alexander *et al*, 1966).

Freud's narrowness due to his lack of understanding emergent evolution left his system simplistic, and shorn of the insight into just how early trauma, "unconscious" or not (Greenacre, 1971), keeps influencing an individual's choices, goals, aspirations, flexibilities, spiritual values, and capacities to learn. The effects of trauma are continuous and 'multiform,' not simplistic, as Greenacre so wisely pointed out. Similarly, Sica's (1989) believable view about therapeutic goals highlights what we hold to be defective in the more rigid of the Classical formulations: emergent evolution and the significance of the positive patient-therapist relationship are denied, or buried under rigid conceptions and frequently ridiculous interpreta-

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tions of transference and counter-transference.

In a similar way, a person's normal, unique "definitions" of people previously experienced, and of the therapist as a person, especially, must be carefully distinguished from transferences: transference involves the patient's reacting to the therapist, unconsciously, as if that person is an individual from one's past. Similarly, counter-transference is defined as a reaction by *the* therapist to the patient as if the patient is a person from the therapist's past. These phenomena are observed when a parent abuses a child as he or she was abused, or wanted as a child to abuse a hated sibling. In contrast, the real relationship is a major factor in bolstering the 'ego-strength' of the patient, fostering trust, and may provide access to the uncovering of basic character pathology. I suspect many therapists have referred patients to social workers with effective empathic capacities in preference to some available psychoanalysts with the aloofness mentioned by Conn (1973), cited below.

Many classical analysts ignore the potentials for growth and emergent evolution in each analysand, and hold certain improbable assumptions about transference which do not consider the capacities of patients to sense us as we are, to test reality, and to maximize the patient-therapist relationship as a growth experience. We do not question that transference reactions take place, and should often be interpreted – *but they are also ubiquitous in every-day existence* – and automatic interpretations are often invalid. Reliance on transference interpretations often results in a passive, time-consuming, and at times presumptuous position on the part of the therapist that results in meaningless stalemates, more easily avoided if we follow the old rule of thumb that transference is to be interpreted only when it becomes a source of resistance.

When the therapist *is* the 'bonded object' for a patient with a poor self-image, when deep pregenital trauma has not been addressed first, the 'therapeutic split' in the ego can not occur, and no sense can be made by the patient of transference interpretations. As Krueger (1989, p. 25) points out, "... The therapist must contact the patient empathically *before* the patient

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can establish himself as an observer and subject of his own motivations – and the therapist-patient dyad can become subject and object for mutual observation, experience, and scrutiny ...."

Similarly, a serious defect exists in the classical failure to realize that therapy itself is an on-going experience, a process that inherently involves a 'corrective emotional experience.' Some analysts have distorted that phrase as used by Franz Alexander (1952) to mean only that the therapist should intentionally repeat the family structure. Although he was relegated to the list of dissenters mentioned above, Alexander made the point that it can be a corrective experience to bare one's soul to an intuitive and non-judgmental adult, when no imposed consequences result from the revelations. In terms of emergent evolution, patients reexperience and examine maladaptive behavior patterns in an atmosphere different from childhood. Fostering freedom and autonomy from buried trauma enables them to reintegrate around more wholesome expressions of feeling, to feel trust where there was mistrust, to feel closeness where personal distancing had been the rule for safety. This is a corrective emotional experience, coming in a new gestalt.

The Classical technique which ignores abstract environmental deficits – the things that *didn't* happen that *should* have happened, or 'been in the surround,' misses some of the all-important processes of *meaning-making*, and does not incorporate, for example, insight into personality growth *failures* cited by Sagan (1988), Erikson (1959), Kegan (1986), R. Spitz (1945, 1965), Mahler (1968), Baars and Terruwe (1976), Rogawski (1987), J.Jacob (1972), and Miller (1981) – some studies already cited, but pertinent to this often-overlooked area.

Hans Eysenck (op cit) and Jacob H. Conn (1973) have made vitriolic attacks on psychoanalysis as a theory, as a technique, as a cult, as a religion. We need to study the defects listed by our critics. Conn provided an overview of "The Rise and Decline of Psychoanalysis." He pointed out that academic psychologists were discredited, Freudian theory 'reductive and escapist,' and its metapsychology had so reified its concepts that one function

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could placate or be attacked by another.

Conn also gave us a partial list of the splinter groups within the psychiatric discipline. At least we have a multiplicity of views on which to utilize our 'platform.' Near the end of Conn's article he stated:

> The passive, aloof analyst had been replaced by the activity and flexibility of Sullivan's participant-observer, Rado's adaptational therapist, Horner's growth-oriented therapist, Wolpe's and Lazarus's behavior therapist, Meyer's psychobiologist, Wolberg's eclectic therapist, Frank's and Grinker's variety of the transactional analyst, Glasser's reality therapist, Dreikur's (Adlerian) psychotherapist, Rogers' client-centered therapist and Frankl's logotherapist.

A tedious comparison of these splinter groups would probably show there are more implicit assumptions held in common than there are divergences of underlying beliefs. Still more of the differences seem to be related to techniques than to dynamic psychology. It is thus a tenable generalization to state that these variations address some of the same dissatisfications leading to the plea of this paper for a return to the basics of organismic psychology.

Philosophical Turmoil

The aforementioned fundamentalism of the Classical Analysts has, like religious fanaticism, made deviations from the holy writ very costly, and violated the very spirit, the 'audacity in thinking', that enabled Freud to make his immense contributions to dynamic psychology and its clinical application as a healing art. Bettelheim (1983) expressed his dismay at the concretization of the broad sweeping analogies Freud used in expressing his initial insights. Phyllis Grosskurth (1986) made it clear how M. Klein and other deviationists paid a heavy price for having the same kind of audacity to come to conclusions that differed from the Classical literature.

Baker and Baker (1987) in their opening remarks on Kohut, state, "...This substantive departure from traditional, psychoana-

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lytically based thinking has precipitated a firestorm of controversy, challenging fundamental precepts about both the etiology and the treatment of psychopathology." I also agree with their subsequent note that "...Palace, Basch, and others consider that these changes merely reflect the way that many good psychotherapists who have never read the self psychology literature have come to practice...." These views incorporate the major contributions of Winnicott, Guntrip and all the object relations theorists, including Adler's 'self psychology,' many of the tenets of which most of us implicitly embrace.

In the clinical applications of organismic insights to the practice of psychiatry, psychoanalysis once was without peer. However, the inbreeding created by some psychoanalytic institutes and the ossifying of techniques by the people with vested interests in charge of these institutes stifled candidates' grasp of the essence of the emergent evolution necessary for patients to resume growth, and for therapists to catalyze new insights case by case.

A liberal stance in psychoanalysis once led to excommunication, and now the demise of Classical Psychoanalysis itself is threatened. For example, neither Classical Analysis nor established religions has led the way for the liberation of women. Both are losing followers. Both cherish and exert power (as contrasted to leadership), which is evil. The particularization of love instance by instance depends on each total situation, hence can neither be prescribed nor proscribed. Growth requires autonomy. *Inner growth occurs best when basic issues are confronted, rather than evaded by following "rules" – often corrupted rules – in dealing with other people.*

Depth Psychology and Cultural Enlightenment

Applications of psychoanalysis or dynamic psychotherapy must not be dismissed with Enelow's epitaph, quoted by Conn (1973, p.38): "Psychoanalysis has become a dead science and a belief system." It is dead only to the extent that it is ossified, as we hope we have demonstrated. It has always been an art, and not a science. This body of observations can be very useful in

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enlightening our thoughts about the Jones massacre, the primitive processes at work in the bizarre murderer, Edward Gein (Gollmar, 1981); and the satanic cult of drug smugglers who recently sacrificed and apparently cannibalized twelve persons. 'Oral incorporation,' ritual cannibalism and the Christian communion are all dynamically related, and totemistic beliefs have similar dynamics. Horror movies such as "Silence of the Lambs," "Dressed to Kill," and "Carrie" tap these primitive behavioral patterns, buttressed by revelations of real cannibalistic espisodes within our own society, by and large by persons suffering from schizophrenia. Freud first popularized our ability to make sense of hallucinations, dreams, jokes, parapraxis, speech and behavior over and beyond their 'logical' dimensions and any physiological substrates.

Freud and his disciples made sense of body language and of 'stages' based on physiological development: and Erik Erikson and others fortunately socialized and humanized these findings. The languages of most contemporary Western cultures have gained from his prolific writings (cf. Hoffman, 1945), providing awareness of and expressions for feelings usually relegated to poetry and other arts.

This is the opposite of the simplistic reductionism of narrowly-construed Freudian dynamics. Nevertheless, Freudian insights elastically applied can be invaluable, as they were, for example, crucial in enabling a very real, active lady attain relief years ago:

> A woman ambivalent about bearing another child as she neared forty, and who also was into her career, had a psychotic break on the delivery table. Interpretations of her delusion (that she had sphinctered off the head of her baby when she sat up to receive a low-spinal anesthesia) and her subsequent dreams involved body-language – feelings – about bearing down, extruding fecal sticks, sphinctering (biting) off turds, and on and on. All Freud's brilliant insights helped me talk with her about body language and the reasonableness of her delusion, given her ambivalence. She stopped feeling crazy and adjusted to the new arrival, without voiding her career.

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The individual's whole 'stack of experiences' (which establish the unique contents of one's behavior cycles) provides a melody of integrated motives which are revealed in his or her cycles of behavior, especially in the choice of goals involved in each overt behavioral act. The comprehension of the intrapsychic *and* the interpersonal approaches – artificially kept separate by concretized theories and techniques – is automatically addressed and made easy in organismic psychology, *the* psychology of adjustment.

Any issue of befuddlement which could accompany a sudden realization that classical psychoanalysis has many serious defects in both theory and application is beautifully articulated by Ortega (1958) in *Man and Crisis* (p.86):

> ... Well, then, an historical crisis occurs when the world change which is produced consists in this: the world, the system of convictions belonging to a previous generation, gives way to a vital state in which man remains without these convictions, and therefore *without a world* [italics added].... One does not know what new things to think – one only knows, or thinks he knows, that the traditional norms and ideas are false and inadmissible... He moves from here to there without order or arrangement; he tries this side and then the other, but without complete convictions; he pretends to himself that he is convinced of this or that.

This is very important. During periods of crisis, positions which are false or feigned are very common. Entire *generations falsify themselves to themselves*; ... [italics added].

> It clearly becomes imperative that we establish a sound platform for examining *all* our 'convictions,' and not go on for generations falsifying ourselves to ourselves in false or feigned assurances. Perhaps Freud's greatest contribution was to expose and to encourage the investigation of blind convictions, but the spirit of this query has been omitted from psychotherapy as new dogmas have been imposed. This perhaps is the essence of Jacoby's (op cit) complaints. Convictions imposed early in life constitute a jail far worse than steel bars, and it is

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> a terrible failure not to have the mental set, so fundamental to anthropologists, of finding a platform on which to stand to question *all* convictions – including this one.

Concepts of organismic theory lead us to believe that the appropriate aim of psychoanalysis, of any psychotherapy, of education and of government is to enhance autonomy: freedom from external dictates as well as from internal, especially non-conscious, maladaptive control mechanisms, magical thinking and ignorance. How often do therapists express an unyielding conviction based on blind faith in analytic dogma and fail to reflect on the true nature and origin of their patients' blind, deep convictions? Technical training may be important, but it is not education. Just as true democracy cannot be autocratically imposed, freedom from internal conflicts cannot be achieved in a dictatorial setting. Furthermore, the 'sins' of 'acting out' are usually found to be evidence of maladaptive efforts to be whole and integrated: they are inadvertently a resistance, and rarely the 'Resistance!' of the Classical convictions. The 'Object Relations' people (cf. Sutherland, 1980), Kohut (1971), Krueger, their colleagues and predecessors have most cogently questioned the 'convictions' that settled in as psychoanalytic theory and techniques got 'organized.' It is clear that education, religion, government and psychotherapy have their own forms of corruption and that almost all corruption involves manipulation based on old convictions leading to a loss of autonomy. Russell (1971) points out that one basic ingredient of happiness is autonomy, and especially as it applies to the absence of a need to be made a member of a cult or sect; to be free of irrational guilt, fear, and depression.

Therapy and education have a lot in common: both foster internal growth and adjustment to the environment, and address 'the meanings one can make out of one's life.' Our aim now is to provide a particular conceptual framework which will assist in detecting our blind convictions and in utilizing insights from organismic psychology in effective dynamic psychotherapy.

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PART II

The Return to Basic Organismic Psychotherapy

Part I dealt with critical issues concerning Classical Psychoanalysis and buttressed our need to integrate the pertinent insights from psychoanalytic psychology into the broader base of organismic psychology, epitomized for psychotherapists by such contributors as Kohut, Kreuger, and many, many others in the past thirty years.

Part II deals with the application of basic principles of organismic psychology to psychoanalytic and psychodynamic theory and practice. In order to create a bridge to understanding and applying organismic psychology we will reframe behavior processes in holistic terms called behavior cycles. This involves a different 'mental set' from the passive 'waiting' for the emergence of associations to key developmental stages and pathological materials which fit a predetermined view of human dynamics. By thinking of behavior in evolving patterns of organically whole units, we can tune up our diagnostic acumen such that it incorporates insights from the previously mentioned post-Freud thinkers, with an elastic rather than dogmatic retention of Freudian contributions, freely integrated. I favor Horner's organismic view (1988) that *theory is evolved* as new material is presented, and integrated with previous experiences, in each patient-therapist encounter.

The Behavior Cycle

In our return to the broader aspects of organismic psychology, we'll use the behavior cycle [BC] for our conceptual framework, as one method of investigating all forms of behavior, including abstract thinking, creative processes, and speaking as behavior (P. Jacob, 1954). This conceptualizes an internal process whereby various behaviors are mentally grouped together, magnetized into a unit (felt as an active intent) in the attainment of a goal. A want, drive or need directs an organism to reach toward a goal and in this integrated process all behavior and mental images of objects which facilitate the

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attainment of that goal are psychologically and functionally linked together. The behavior cycle describes the psychology of continuous adjustment.

A dog longing to reach a piece of meat high on a shelf might jump on a chair to mount the table and snatch the meat. All of the actions and objects the dog used to reach the meat would be imbued with a common psychological aura of meaning. As another example, a person wishing to dig a hole searches for a shovel and brings it to the site of the proposed hole: all of the acts accrued searching for and bringing a shovel to the site of the hole would be mentally, feelingly, linked together as different subparts to attaining the goal. This complete cycle of behavior might itself be a subcycle to the goal of planting a tree: and perhaps the individual is alive and intensely innervated with all the reasons for planting a tree, an excitement that could be felt throughout the subsidiary activities (subcycles) as well.

A BC is an action which can be grasped or seen as a whole while simultaneously viewing each part of the process, in contrast to examining pieces of a behavioral act and constructing an idea of behavior from its parts (as in S-R conditioning). The same underlying BC can be present in increasingly complex situations without losing its basic character. Understanding the elaborations of this core process gives us a way to conceptualize evolution and the development of intelligent behavior, and perhaps intelligence itself.

As used by a therapist, the BC encourages an articulation of the whole-person-centered therapeutic processes: i.e., we can stay aware of the whole real person with all the rumbling need-meeting processes in action, while we tease out therapeutically relevant phases of behavior. It is a *framework* for understanding feelings, meanings, memories, dreams, normal and abnormal behavior, while simultaneously seeing how these phenomena are inseparable manifestations of a whole individualized person, and whence they came. Dreams are common examples of how a variety of feeling meanings and life events are drawn together in an individualized way by a single intent,

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a common core.

Studying the cycles of behavior of the whole person avoids the reductionism inimical to analysands and analysts alike, and *allows dynamic processes to be laid bare in place, and while they are, so to speak, being created.* Practically speaking, this enables us to have a cognitive affirmation of what we've intuitively grasped, and to make 'fine adjustments' to our intuitive hunches. Emergent evolution and meaning-making are inherent in the processes to be discussed in this connection, and were major motivating forces to P. Jacob's initial thoughts about "How We Think." This shoring up of intuitive listening avoids the distractions which occur when empathic imagination is side-stepped in favor of an ill-advised search for applicable theories from the cookbook.

Evolution of the Behavior Cycle: A New Framework for Familiar Concepts

In order to get the right mental set for a sympathetic understanding of our need to utilize the behavior cycle and of its place in our broadened concept of psychodynamic psychology, we might start with a quotation from Smith's article on William James (1968):

> ... One of the evils of specialization in modern thought has been the official division of reality into fields, topics, or subject matters which are declared to be the exclusive property of this or that science or discipline. Once the parceling out has taken place, the "no trespassing" signs are posted and poaching is strictly forbidden.

Woodworth (1925) pointed out years ago that the individual is constantly involved in innumerable need-meeting activities, in varied states of deprivation-satiation. Most such needs are 'taken care of' nonconsciously unless unusual events force cognitive intervention, as in the unusual situation of leaving a smoke-filled room in order to breath, or asking ourselves "What's wrong?" if the car doesn't start.

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John Dewey's (1938) paradigm for the comprehending of behavior is as follows (pp 77-78):

> It is, then a sound instinct which identifies freedom with power to frame purposes and to execute or carry into effect purposes so framed...[our autonomy and the essence of play.]
>
> A genuine purpose [intent] always starts with an impulse. Obstruction of the immediate execution of an impulse converts it into a desire. Nevertheless neither impulse nor desire is itself a purpose. A purpose is an end-view.

David Rapaport (1951) gives his primary model of thought as: "... *mounting drive-tension* – absence of drive object – hallucinatory image of it." This hallucinatory image is not necessarily conscious, and it fits our picture of a concept, but it carries that sense of meaning or feeling which constitutes the organic core of an individual's current cycle of behavior.

In our everyday language, the paradigm given by Dewey was incorporated in P. Jacob's behavior cycle: an implicit need – evolving through 'impulse to desire' – acts as a magnetic force to draw together, organize and direct behavior (muscular and/or abstract thinking) with an intent or 'end view' to find satisfaction (defining its goal), and once the goal is located – i.e., particularized – to organize and to direct energy as one goes about satisfying the intent in the here and now. The *organization* of these processes is the same whether we're searching the refrigerator for anything by which our need to snack can be particularized, or making complicated long-range plans to escalate our menial job into one of greater significance and remuneration.

So, Peyton Jacob, following John Dewey and William James, developed his descriptive conceptual tool, not inconsistent with 'Freudian dynamics' [with which he was unfamiliar] and of much wider educational and therapeutic applicability. Jacob's scheme (evolved *circa* 1925) follows the 'law of parsimony' [the maxim that the simplest explanation or hypothesis is preferable] by showing that the behavior cycle is a natural unit for examining innumerable aspects of behavior, especially abstract and

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creative behavior, without losing sight of the person as a whole, and without being burdened by *a priore* theories.

The behavior cycle reverses the necessity for Freud's 'multiple explanations' by understanding the *intent* which demands and integrates multiple behavioral processes into a here-and-now gestalt, grasped as a total unit. The parsimony of our behavior cycle paradigm extends into the great complexities of living as well: its pattern remains the same, despite the complexity of the phenomena being observed.

The Preface to Peyton Jacob's book, *The Behavior Cycle, An Interpretation of Behavior from the Standpoint of an Educationist* states, in part (p.v):

> To obtain a picture of the behavioral organization, we have begun with a complete act, or cycle of behavior, and sought to discover the interrelations of the part processes, instead of beginning with such supposed structural components as reflexes and acquired stimulus-response units. The behavior cycle is conceived as *an entity with a structure*, that may have its structure laid bare, and may be observed in successive evolving forms in the animal series and in the human individual. By noting its structure at successive stages, which is always basically the same but with successively greater elaboration, we may gain a better insight into the higher adaptive processes, including intelligent behavior. We may thus view *mind in evolution*, as it develops in its various aspects, and see the various adjustive processes in better perspective.

The Organismic Nature of the Behavior Cycle

The behavior cycle concept is itself organismic, and is used as a conceptual tool for analyzing the functioning of other organic processes. Tenets central to organismic theory are, first, that an organism is most completely understood when it is taken as a whole – i.e., we do not have a full grasp of any aspect of a person or thing when we look at one aspect alone. This view is a natural parallel to gestalt psychology, which is more wedded to the here-and-now, but which never-the-less intertwines with the organismic school of thought. Second, the most

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natural state of an organism is one in which all parts – the whole person – are integrated during goal-seeking, and *the drive towards this integration* is the most central and compelling urge of life, far exceeding the 'pleasure principle' narrowly, sensuously, construed. Conversely, fragmentation is psychic death. [I think, therefore I am –....]

Behavior cycles are 'organic processes' in that they themselves are flexible, *functionally* intact, integrating and evolving processes wherein the pressures of needs result in and guide these integrated actions and thoughts as they become intentions to meet the needs. Action unfolds *from within*, guided by implicit (i.e., non-conscious) general processes hierarchically built up through experience. Obviously, the behavior in speech of adding -ed to express past tense is guided from within, for expressing the antecedent feeling of 'while ago,' and it was 'absorbed' when learning to understand and to speak: it is an implicit general control mechanism.

Organismic processes are adaptives processes, and contrast sharply with static states. Examples of static states would be rote learnings, prefabricated houses, rules imposed by force, and religions imposed by fear: none unfolds from within out. Examples of organismic processes include the growth of an embryo, an adaptive act, the formation of a percept, the growth of an idea, the unfolding of a sentence from its inner core of meaning, the formation of a concept, and the development of a social institution. To be adaptive, it is inherently true that the present is a functional continuation of the past, and that organismic states unfold from within outward.

The behavior cycle thus is an inclusive conceptual tool describing this repetitious pattern. The concept lays bare these organizational activities. It is an approach to grasping cognitively any segment of behavior. Hence, a major point to repeat is that we can *cognitively* 'make sense' of what we've already *intuitively* grasped as a gestalt. In everyday life we do not 'analyze' someone's sentence to get the message: the speaker transfers a gestalt of felt meanings to the listener. We can 'tease out' cycles of behavior relevant to our study without destroying

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the context of the whole person, involved in all activities that go with sustaining life. *This viewpoint is not reductionistic.*

The Utilitarian Scope of the Behavior Cycle Concept

Just as a good concept keeps us from reinventing the wheel at every turn, so the organismic, functional approach allows us implicitly to 'take in' numerous complexities in one 'gestalt' or unit: the bundle of sticks is bound together and not easily broken. Meanings are 'in the air' in a positive way, influencing our mental set.

(1) The BC is inherently evolutionary. Pursuit of the dynamic intent or purpose gives secondary but temporary *meanings* to *ad hoc* creative structures used for the attainment of goals. Note the dog's temporary use of the chair to mount the table to get the meat: it 'demagnetized' the chair as soon as it got onto the table. Sometimes these temporary structures work so well they register as processes of more enduring or widespread applicability, and will get utilized again elsewhere: an 'evolutionary' event has taken place by the grasp of relationships experienced in the original endeavor. The 'learning' takes place under a full head of steam, and gives us a clue to one of the more prominent definitions of "intelligence," i.e., the ability to see relationships.

This also parallels our understanding of how emergent evolution takes place as emphasized by Schilder (1938, 1950). We can see that the need-meeting process is the framework within which new meanings and concepts are created. A person who had never seen a crowbar would 'invent' one, perhaps utilizing a pair of pliers, with a wood chip for a fulcrum, with which to withdraw nails. Once a need has been met several times the objects meeting the need, and the techniques of getting the objects meeting the need, are retained in memory, and stay as 'concepts'. 'Milk' is rudimentary, 'food' is abstract. Thus, a tired animal just sprawls on the floor. A tired human feels 'I want to rest': the human has created a concept. The concept (resting) stays activated with the underlying feelings intact, and patterns behavior (with the intent, to rest) until a

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bed is located. The concept recurs with subsequent fatigue. So, concepts are abstract, but the underlying feelings creating the intent are not split off (except in pathological circumstances). The addition of -ed to denote 'while ago' also shows the existence of a concept – an implicit general pattern, a more general expression of a need-meeting activity to denote a fact which registers as a feeling, "while ago."

(2) The BC embraces complexity without becoming simplistic. Our flexible conceptual tool fulfills Brothers' (1989) cogent demands (p.10) that "....Adequate paradigms must take into account that organisms have a historical nature and that the patterned complexity of living systems is hierarchically organized, giving rise to the emergence of novelties. Furthermore, biological *processes* obey physicochemical laws, but biological *concepts* cannot be reduced in any meaningful way to the language of physics.... It also demonstrates the importance of paradigms that are adequate to deal with organized complexity." And, these complexities are organized around cores of meaning.

(3) The BC is flexible and adaptive. Ruesch (1961) likewise addresses these significant issues: "Human experience is not an end state, and at each moment it alters its configurations, never to become the same again. Unlike the physical scientist who assumes that *truth is valid unto eternity*, the therapist knows of another kind of *truth that is valid for brief moments only* ... [italics added]."

(4) The core function stays active throughout the immense expansion of motives. Compare the first sewing machine to the latest multineedled, computer-controlled mechanism: the function of stitching fabrics together is the common denominator with an elaboration of technical improvements (cf. stitching many seams at the same time, using more needles). Also, this core function concept buttresses Allport's explanations of *functional autonomy* (1984):

> The term coined by G.W. Allport for his theory that behavior originally motivated by instinctual forces may develop derivative motives that eventually supersede the primary drives

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> and operate autonomously. E.g., studying first motivated by the need for approval is gradually replaced by love of scholarship, or the gourmet, who started by eating to live, now lives to eat.... [But note that studying and eating were still involved.]

Functional autonomy represents still another parallel to our concepts of how emergent evolution takes place. In behavior cycle terms, intents or purposes can combine several needs in one effort: thus the love of scholarship evolves not only from the initial need for approval, but perhaps integrates with the pressures of curiosity, competitive urges, the cherishing of wisdom, and a genuine desire to make a social contribution. We belabor the point in order to make a contrast to the simplistic explanations based on libido theory, narrowly construed, and the reductionism inherent in such theorizing.

(5) The BC concept lays bare the real meaning of *condensation*, variously defined as the process where one idea is used to contain the emotions present in several ideas; or when several meanings get fused into one word, event or picture. It is a familiar Freudian metaphore: but our behavior cycle uncovers its dynamics, without the metaphore that a little manikin is at work making things happen. People familiar with the stream of feeling-meanings flowing just prior to articulation into words understand condensation and its opposite, differentiation or discrimination: a 'separation' has to take place for "just the right word" to leave the common nest of similar words, to get particularized. Neologisms, somewhat like dreaming, sometimes betray the loss of the capacity for the discrimination and the condensation necessary for highly articulate speech. Condensation is positively at work also when 'just the right word' has numerous subtle implications, harmonics or overtones. For a humorous example, we can say that if the difference between 'the right word' and 'the almost right word' is like the difference between lightening and the lightening bug [a statement I've heard attributed to Mark Twain], we can see that 'lightening' condenses and has overtones to the effect of great force, illumination, and over-powering intensity. Wow.

Behaviorally, a sexual yearning in action may be condensed

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or super-charged (i.e., include many 'subcycles') with needs to compensate for a sense of inadequacy (a subgoal), to feel acceptance (another subgoal), to compete with a sibling figure, to relieve boredom, and so on and on. The normal contributions of these subgoals to ongoing intents produce more smoothness, and usually greater intensity, of overt behavior. Failure of these modifying processes, like absences of modifiers (adjectives and adverbs) in a sentence, produce disturbances. So, there is no 'intent' on the part of the little manikin to condense: closely related needs-in-action of the whole person get focused on one goal, or processes towards a goal; and 'things that feel the same cluster around the same magnet'.

Any one of the 'things' (cf. one's memories of having impact, the tones of joy or sadness connected with a friend, thrills of winning – all past experience-episodes) around the magnet may represent, stand for or symbolize all the things hooked to the magnet in a subsequent stream of free associations and in the content of a dream. This is similar to the frequent experience we all have of being reminded of one person when we see another person wearing a similar hat or tie, or speaking in a droll manner. Free associations 'run up and down' the personal stacks of experiences which have common denominators of feeling-meanings, fundamental to condensation.

(6) Meaning-making is an inherent aspect of the BC. Freud defined instincts very broadly, for humans, as 'organic demands on the psychical apparatus.' Meanings initially involve need-satisfiers, and because needs register first as feelings, feelings are the 'originators' of meanings that soon go beyond the raw organic bodily demands.

For example, when one feels tired a bed is a to-rest-on; a chair is a 'to-sit-on'. Fatigue, hunger and coldness are felt phenomena, as also, on a more abstract level, are while ago, right now and after while. As we trace out this aspect of the BC we must not lose track of the innumerable needs which may be simultaneously involved in one 'gestalt' of behavior. For example, the infant bonded to its mother is secure, is being kept warm, isolated from over-stimulating noises, experiencing

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soothing bodily sensations, – and maybe is nursing or getting fed. The 'overtones' and 'harmonics' discussed under "Condensation" may be relevant here as well.

Fenichel (1945) started with the idea that 'things that feel the same are the same in the unconscious,' and thereby have a common denominator of feeling. One item can symbolize another because they elicit the same feeling. Definitions of a current reality situation similarly derive from previous 'felt' meanings, the major part of the apperceptive mass. The BC facilitates comprehending and interpreting dreams. Were we to connect these associations from our 'stack of experiences' in a diagram by feeling content we could refer to them as 'emotional isobars.' For example, depressed persons often find themselves humming sad tunes, or externalizing their sadness listening to a tragic opera. One of my training analysts used to admonish me with the remark that had I known the theme to such-and-such an opera, I would have understood the dream of the patient I was struggling to understand. Another mentor used to say that if a patient starts off reporting a dream involving a bleak, snowy day, take note of the affect. Freud's famous dream of "The Botanical Monograph," (S. Freud, 1900) studied in terms of 'emotional isobars,' or 'teased out' in B.C. terms, reveals his tremendous need for approval, recognition, success, adulation. It is easy to 'feel' the meaning of that dream, then confirm it with his associations, which he gave with great integrity.

(7) The BC helps understand the thinking processes. Because needs and feelings are so closely related, feelings can elicit meanings and provide linkages or a language between similar meanings. In other words, we 'think' with a series of feeling tones which are always rumbling along in the non-conscious. Thinking in BC terms can help us see the relationship between needs, feelings and meanings, and how meanings are created. Delusions and dreams can be viewed as processes of feeling-memories gathered and pictured but shorn of our awake capacities to attend and to differentiate out facets of current reality (due to toxic states, to sleep or stress or sensory depriva-

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tion). Dreams may be thus viewed as 'truncated' thought processes. There is nothing new in the dreaming processes, relative to thinking processes; there are some factors unavailable during sleep.

(8) The BC explains the expansion of needs as we extend our goals. That is, the conceptual tool of 'integrated behavior cycles' helps us understand how new needs evolve in our activities through intention-directed behavior. Everything needed to implement this goal-seeking behavior (concepts, insights, material things) acquires functional utility: that which 'suddenly' proves useful is employed (needed) again in parallel situations. Thus we can see meanings as they get created. A long fence-rail suddenly becomes a lever. We needed the concept before the fence-rail could have an expanded meaning. Also, make a 'quantum leap' and realize how lack of intentions leads to a sense of indifference to objects around us, and ultimately to the meaninglessness of life itself.

(9) The BC involves assimilation. Clear thinking and the grasp of the significance of a new observation or experience involve our ability to make connections with our previous integrated (conscious or nonconscious) background of related experiences. Herbart (1954) nearly two hundred years ago gave us a remarkably dynamic conceptual framework, similar to the dynamics of our BC, which he termed the 'apperceptive mass':

> According to J.F. Herbart apperception is that process by which an aggregate or "mass" of presentations becomes systematized by the accretion of new elements, either sense-given or supplied by the inner workings of the mind. He thus emphasizes in apperception *the connection with self as the result of all its previous experience*. Hence in education the teacher should fully acquaint himself with the mental development of the pupil, in order that he may make full use of what the pupil already knows.
>
> Apperception is thus a general term for all mental processes in which a presentation is brought into connection with already existent and systematized ideas and is thus classified, explained or, in a word, assimilated to other phenomena

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> already analyzed and classified. The whole intelligent life of man is, *consciously or unconsciously*, a process of apperception, inasmuch as every act of attention involves the appercipient process. [Italics added.]

Herbart's apperceptive mass certainly applies to the individual in process of goal-seeking behavior. Dewey's basic (and organismic) thesis is that a child learns best when its own wants and interests motivate and direct the new learning experience, which accrues to the (unique) apperceptive mass of the child. This is *useful* assimilation. What we are suggesting is that goal-seeking behavior must be involved for the appercipient process to be fully aroused, and hence the subject of attention. The behavior cycle exposes the dynamic sequence of psychological operations involved in behavior and learning, of which the apperceptive mass [our composite but also associated 'stacks of experiences'] and the appercipient process are a vital part.

(10) The BC helps us 'explain' pathology. Fragmentation, depersonalization, and inappropriate behavior often 'make sense' when conceived as breakdowns in the BC. Fragmentation, an awful disintegration or fear of the loss of the capacity to function, often involves the separation (splitting) of feelings from the things or people normally connected or imbued with these feelings (cf. Baker's 'confrontation with either a narcissistic insult or a disruption in a sustaining relationship'). We speak commonly of an overwhelming situation. Panic and fragmentation can follow. This fragmentation is ubiquitous in psychotic states, and common in people who depersonalize in situations threatening abandonment, or inducing terror, and during flashbacks to the terrifying, incomprehensible traumas we deal with in the post-traumatic stress disorders (often following child-abuse).

Addressing the Significance of Emergent Evolution and the Development of Meanings

Schilder (op cit) and others brought relief from Freud's pessimism about human nature and civilization by emphasizing emergent evolution, a concept which highlights the processes

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for the development *and expansion* of meanings. Love, with its real concern for the welfare of significant others, engages, and elicits, all our knowledge, capacities, skills and adaptabilities on an immensely broadened (vs. small self-centered) field of action. Although Freud originally emphasized love as the ultimate basis of cure, this unpessimistic view seemingly got sidetracked later by the concretization of concepts about transference, and the concept of the analyst as a 'blank screen.' The extent of the pessimism attributed to Freud was sketched by Iris Murdoch and quoted by Ronda (1989, p.77):

> Freud takes a thoroughly pessimistic view of human nature. He sees the psyche as an egocentric system of quasi-mechanical energy, largely determined by its own individual history, whose natural attachments are sexual, ambiguous, and hard for the subject to understand or control. Introspection reveals only the deep tissue of ambivalent motive, and fantasy is a stronger force than reason. Objectivity and unselfishness are not natural to human beings."

Emergent evolution – the continuous creations of new qualities and of new meanings – allows us to rise above Freud's instinct-bound view, and put abstract and spiritual values back as part of the *determinants* of our behavior. An organismic approach, emergent evolution stresses the continuously changing, evolving state of nature from which new patterns, beings, properties, and *psychological possibilities* emerge constantly. Schilder's goal is "to achieve a deeper insight into the nature of the creative process and emphasize the constructive psychic effort by which new entities are created. Emergent evolution and gestalten in the psychic sphere are not merely data which are given to us as a present; they have to be obtained by struggling." This 'struggling' is not a burden: it is the imaginative and creative activity occurring in the processes of fulfilling our intentions, in behavior cycle terms. To us, this is seen mainly in watching the progressions of goal-seeking behavior – we improve our techniques for attaining goals, and we broaden the choices of goals that will meet the needs. In other words we

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must grope and reformulate theories continuously to understand the meaning of those events, circumstances, choices and goals that constitute, for each individual, a life's stack of experiences. This emphasis on the importance of meaning uplifts us from Freud's pessimism at the same time that it embraces the organismic process.

Rethinking Conceptual Tools Organismically

Creative activity in the process of adaptation is the essence of organismic psychology, revealed clearly in the behavior cycle description of the creative aspects of goal-seeking behavior. We will reframe several samples of our familiar conceptual tools in organismic terms to show that all these 'mental mechanisms' are organismic processes easily laid bare in the behavior cycle approach.

(1) *The behavior cycle and conflict theory.* In Freud's conflict theories, *symptoms* are considered a compromise (as when "the superego" forces "the ego" to deny a demand of "the id"). Our objection to the classical conflict theory is its overemphasis on 'warring factions' rather than the needed emphasis on emergent evolution and conflict resolution, so essential to the psychology of adjustment. These dramatic power struggles between metaphorical entities take on a quite different appearance when viewed from the standpoint of major demands (goals) of behavior being modified by subcycles of behavior (with *their* subgoals). In this latter view *all systems are positive*, in agreement with Freud's deeper comprehension that there is no negative in the unconscious. The 'organismic' ego concept deals with the capacity of the individual to have his cake and eat it too. Freud would say that the neurotic individual represses an instinctual urge because of the fear of the possible pain (castration) resulting from gratification. A student of the BC and of organismic theory would say that one subcycle warns of danger, and other subcycles seek ways of avoiding danger (cf. of detection) or, not finding these, seek substitute gratifications (or sublimations?). Creative acts resolve conflicts, between two positive processes: attaining the goal, without detection; or

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modifying the goal to a presumably less satisfying form of gratification, without detection (or without associated dangers).

We do not doubt that there are multiple conflicts between caring and obedience; between autonomy and submission, with loss of self-esteem; between hating the powerful one who demands obedience and hating one's self for being weak; between indulgence and self-denial. But all facets of the individual are involved here, and any resolution involves a complicated series of compromises resulting in the best adaptation the person as a whole is able to make.

Conversely, patterns of behavior which get *imposed* on an individual lack the natural, central dynamic cores which are typical of the behavior cycle. The resulting behaviors emerge in a stilted, emotionally meaningless form (except there is a 'central core' to avoid displeasing the authority, or to avoid punishment), and the behavior cycles appropriately at work guiding the behavior are ruptured. A child forced to memorize the meanings of words will not find those words 'coming to articulation' naturally in a subsequent eagerness to express an idea or experience. An individual cleaning a room 'under orders' performs differently in contrast to a person cleaning a room with the anticipated excitement of entertaining a dear friend.

(2) *Conscience vs. super-ego.* Sagan, in his book *Freud, Women, and Morality* (1988), differentiated the conscience from the classical description of the superego, thus allowing us to 'unfreeze' this concretized and over-used concept. He states (p.6): "...This structure [the superego] is established by incorporating the parents – and their moral imperatives – into the psyche.... Harmful imperatives are also internalized by means of the superego. The alien voice of parental authority...." On p.9 Sagan points out that "Far from carrying out the task of morality in the psyche, *the superego is essentially amoral and can be as easily immoral as moral....*" Sagan then goes on to say (p.14):

> When we call a sadistic superego "pathological" or "corrupt," by what standard are we judging it? Is there an instrument in

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> the psyche that can differentiate between the moral and immoral attributes of the superego? It is the argument of this book that *conscience* is such an instrument; that conscience, unlike the superego, knows clearly which actions are moral and which immoral; that conscience, unlike the superego, is incapable of corruption and pathology. It may be silenced or paralyzed, but one can never accurately speak of a diseased conscience. Here we come upon a crucial distinction: *the superego always collaborates with its own corruption*. The relative health or pathology of the superego is dependent on how much or how little of conscience is operative in its functioning.

This differentiation of *conscience* from *superego* sheds a great deal of light on real spiritual depth and the origins of such spirituality, and on Freud's pessimism, as contrasted to the more superficial legalistic adherence to rules and regulations.

(3) *Repetition-Compulsion.* Next, we will discuss repetition-compulsion beginning with two dramatic examples. Traumatized war veterans often dream or reenact a terrible blow to their whole psychophysiological selves – a pilot who hurled himself out of the canopy of an observation plane (shot down in WWII) frequently hurled himself out of bed. As a second example, consider the copeless lady whose schizophrenic father had dismembered her mother's body, and who married three violent men in a row (J. Jacob, 1977).

An organic (functional) conceptualization of repetition-compulsion is based on the awareness that the whole organism, the life of the *whole* person, is severely compromised by overwhelming trauma, and how overcoming helplessness (a fundamental survival need) induced by trauma may become a life task. This forlorn woman was responding to more than the hidden sadism of these men: each had 'facilitating personality traits' that fit her cultural background and family dynamics. Each seemed to offer security with dignity. 'Transference reactions' *could* be construed in her dynamics regarding these men. She as a person with her unique stack of experiences found 'needed ingredients' in their patterns of behavior, with which she needed to feel competent to cope. She accurately

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implicitly 'chose' facsimiles of the deranged man who fragmented her self-image, her stimulus barrier, and unglued the normal dynamic processes of healthy goal-seeking behavior. Were all these "Oedipal"? Did she need to die out of guilt, or was she trying to master an overwhelming trauma? To feel real? Her goal to acquire the ability to cope has much in common with the crawling infant's repeated attempts to walk.

This viewpoint also echoes Adler's 'individual psychology,' which was more holistic, more organismic than Freud's system of instinct-driven and blind unconscious conflicts. As Monroe (1955, p. 335) said, "[Adler] had a vision of how the personality functions as a whole in a social milieu, and this vision has been recaptured by ... other psychoanalysts...."

(4) *Psychological trauma, re-examined.* We underscore the importance of pregenital trauma and fragmentation in cases purported to be suffering from *castration anxiety*. R. Spitz (1965) maintains that the reiterative nature of small traumas (i.e., endless broken promises by inconsistent parents) add up to personality distortions on a long-term basis. These may be more subtle, and more difficult for the patient to enucleate, than obvious childhood crises.

The ethologists (cf. the Bacciagaluippis, 1982), and Bowlby, (1969), make it difficult to maintain the simplistic Freudian position concerning the meaning of early object relations to the growing organism. Understanding the importance of early object-relations highlights the difficulties of using the *intrapsychic* position of Freudianism without the *interpersonal* realities being taken into account: the BC 'embraces' both.

In short, panic attacks, fear of fragmentation and separation anxiety don't constitute "castration anxiety," a concept too broadly applied, and one which often 'violates' the intuitive knowledge of patients. Often-times the Freudian cliches induce us to project back our adult constructions of childhood traumas without due regard for what the 'whole child' probably experienced and comprehended, after which it is easy to over-generalize the concepts of denial and repression. *A disintegrating experience isn't necessarily repressed*: it oftentimes can't be "hemmed

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up" as a gestalt in a child's memory. An incestuously molested little girl might fear Daddy and know he hurt, and is 'mean,' without grasping the significance of what happened until much later in life. (Fraser, 1987). I'm reminded of Schaef's (1981) enlightening view that the dominance of [the...System] isn't 'grasped,'– it's "in the air" – it isn't repressed. Work has to be done to 'stand off and see it.' This work is done by really astute psychoanalysts, of course; yet many hypothecated childhood experiences are assumed to be buried under the concepts of denial and repression, when the significant memories really are present but need to be pulled together for their true effects to be realized. Tachistoscopic experiments have demonstrated that an individual flooded with more stimuli than can be attended retains the 'surplus elements,' some of which appeared in subsequent dreams. These stimuli were registered but not conscious; they were not 'denied' nor 'repressed,' but did not become an integrated part of the apperceptive mass for lack of attention, or presence of an intention. Again, the fear is that the psychoanalytic system is too *pat*, and has excluded other possibilities from being researched.

(5) *Addressing the whole person, vs their pathology only*. A more flexible technique would engage patients' capacities in their own behalf, and incorporate an individualized, evolving type of therapy to see how in treatment patients should, as Kegan (op cit) says, 'progress from *being* their reflexes to *owning* them as part of themselves.' Carlsen (1988), following Kegan, also applies this to the therapeutic process, and her quote below is itself a good living example of emergent evolution (pp. 3-4):

> ...Something remarkable has happened to bring about a cognitive shift where the client no longer *is* the problem, but *has* the problem, thus able to hold it, objectify it, and deal with it with a new construction of the reality of that problem. When this moment occurs I, as therapist, know that the client is arriving at a major transformation of thinking and interpretation....

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This is an up-dated way of *feeling* the meaning of the 'therapeutic split of the ego' and of *implying* that with a proper relationship between patient and therapist, such cognitive shifts are apt to occur. It is also in the context of the therapeutic relationship that patients might get help addressing their earlier deprivations, then utilizing more of their own efforts in their own milieu in the pursuit of wholeness.

Our awareness of 'the whole person' facilitates our immediate grasp of the pressures that produced this dream:

> A writer who hated his mother for rearing him as a girl fell into harsh economic circumstances. His mother had a severe stroke, stayed comatose, and nursing home care was rapidly depleting his father's retirement nest-egg, which the son coveted. The writer and his wife visited a divorced woman, whose seven-year old daughter showed them snapshots of her father, which included some Hanukkah scenes. That night the writer dreamed that the little girl was showing pictures of her father, and stated, "My father is dead." The patient and I knew in a flash, even as he was relating the dream, that he was yearning for the death of his mother. Those steeped in dream processes would be titillated by his numerous rich associations, a main one being that at the last (pre-stroke) Hanukkah gathering many snapshots were taken of his parents and his in-laws, and the latter were divorced but together for the Hanukkah event.

Clearly, the BC process can be applied to all the goals and subgoals in the dream, for dreams have the same elements of any thought or behavior, as in the one just cited: but the immediate capacity to test and to attend the current reality is absent, due to being asleep. The 'drives' are no different than those active in 'awake' life, though when awake they may have been pushed aside by the need to attend still other issues.

As Eysenck (op cit) insisted, and most of us know, dreams do not usually involve "unconscious wishes," analytic rules to the contrary notwithstanding. Free associations often do trail back to early years, following similar feeling tones ('emotional

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isobars'), – a finding quite consistent with organismic psychology, which insists the organism is a whole, if less differentiated, functioning unit from conception – but these associations are more often non-conscious than 'Uncs repressed.'Our conceptual tool cuts across but does not violate nor deny these cumbersome metaphors (cf. conscious, preconscious and unconscious; id, ego, and superego) so familiar in analytic thinking.

Factors facilitating this shift towards a capacity for self-evaluation include the preliminary empathic bonding neatly articulated by Kreuger (op cit, p. 25); a sense of loving and being loveable, without those very self-feelings posing (attracting) a danger; and astute interpretations which help patients realize their resemblences (incorporations) to the dominant 'creatures' of their childhood. This latter is a me-not me type of differentiation which hastens this therapeutic split in the ego. Gilligan's (1982) clinical observations highlighted the sense of personhood developed during the hard choices pregnant teen-agers are forced to make around the issues of abortion, and the issues of 'caring' they had not enjoined before. Also, as a therapeutic technique, panic-driven and choiceless behavior *can itself* be made the focus of attention, first between patient and therapist, and later within the patient. When we hold a severely frightened child, assuring safety, we can point out whether there is really something to fear, and thus through mutual discussions foster a type of 'therapeutic split.' The very need to do this with patients, incidentally, shows just what was often lacking in the environments of patients not usually suited for Classical psychoanalysis, because Classical theories rarely address what wasn't there [except perhaps a penis]. Early traumas and deprivations tend to result in personality disorders which outweigh 'psychoneuroses.'

Other Disciplines

A true organismic view encompasses the knowledge provided by fields outside of psychiatry which also make quite cogent contributions – especially economics, population studies, sociology, archeology and anthropology. Without all these

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approaches we can not tackle the issues of child abuse, post-traumatic stress syndromes, depression, suicides and our entire list of DSM III diagnostic criteria. Genetics, physiology, pharmacology and toxicology are usually brought to bear through the arts of medicine, including especially the neurologists and internists and endocrinologists. For example, an intriguing chemical abnormality has been found in the spinal fluid of many cases of impulsive suicide and impulsive arson (Linnoila, 1988). Clearly, we as therapists must formulate our dynamic hypotheses instance by instance, intuitively, dealing with the gestalt of each situation, and simultaneously stay open to the contributions of all these fields.

Parsons and Shils (1952) illustrate the scope and the broader implications of dynamic insights in the book, *Toward a General Theory of Action*, a volume by nine individual social scientists (four psychologists, three sociologists, and two anthropologists). The most important contributions of the psychology of the human personality (p.vii) involve "...Freud and the movements stemming from his work, perhaps more than any other influence, but this stream flowed through several channels – and in it's course has influenced the sociologists and anthropologists in the group as well as the psychologists...."

Views of Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy

Jurgen Ruesch (1961) emphasized the absurdity of calling ourselves scientists. He, like P. Jacob in a different approach, also emphasized that "...what we call social or psychological pathology is embedded in communicative behavior....". This quotation which we repeat here is an exquisite articulation of the spirit of our field of endeavor:

> Human experience is not an end state, and at each moment it alters its configurations, never to become the same again. Unlike the physical scientist who assumes that truth is valid unto eternity, the therapist knows of another kind of truth that is valid for brief moments only. Not as a casual observer but as a participant in an ongoing exchange, the therapist may, at some rare moments, observe that both style and the context of

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> a message correspond to the existing naked reality. *He can also appreciate the fleeting fit of words to nonverbal components of expression*; and through the combination of observation with the subjective experience of effective or ineffective communication, he can arrive at an appraisal of the disturbances of communication that prevail at a given moment [italics added]."

Since the BC opens communication and its immediate non-verbal antecedents to empathic observation we can understand better the integrative role played by our tendencies *toward* communication: the very act of organizing underlying feelings into speech, to be transmitted to another person so they will feel and know what we experience, involves an abstract need-governed process. Communication, i.e., relating to another person, is itself a goal. Such relating also helps because we often find out clearly what we think or feel only when we express it.

Reich's (1949) conception of character armor is very enlightening, and the meanings of bodily posture, the 'facial set', and many personality characteristics are intuitively available to therapists who empathize with the whole person.

Reich, initially following Freud, felt that character patterns are defenses against anxiety and thus constitute resistances against penetration of unconscious levels of the personality. The BC easily detects and deals with such patterns – 'normal' or 'abnormal'– as *implicit general control mechanisms* (cf. our dynamic habit for using -ed to express past tense), developed and learned non-consciously, but not part of the 'Uncs repressed.' It is easy to realize that these characterological personality traits are learned stances acquired in adapting to the pregenital environment (of people, or 'objects'). 'Aggressiveness' and 'stubbornness' [both appear in bodily movements as well as in words] may show up well before age three, and 'ingratiation' and 'passivity,' just for examples, tend to precede the phase of Oedipal/Superego conflicts. Preoedipal children in therapy find that they can roll clay into little lumps and hurl them around with glee. Prohibitions vs. creative evolution are the concepts that should be highlighted here, not 'castration anxiety' and the 'forbidding superego': the fear of abandonment, of parental

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withdrawal of love, often permeate the nursery where body-languages are first experienced (Bloch, 1978).

Summary

I have tried to present to the readers an alternative perspective with which to review and evaluate their previously conceived psychological theories and therapies, by suggesting the application of a broader view of organismic processes and the behavior cycle to psychotherapy. In upgrading our appreciation of organismic psychology, we hope to convey the idea that exploring psychodynamics is fun, that psychotherapy is deeply satisfying, promoting continuous growth for patient and therapist alike, and thus is a real privilege. We can laugh at our "cosmic jokes," (such as Freud, the major dissenter, fighting those who also wanted autonomy), without being too destructive, and feel more warmly than ever about the human condition. Patients – clients – have gumption, too; we must not forget that their potential for growth might be greater than our own.

For many, Psychoanalysis is a cult; for others, it is occult. Eysenck (1990) even condemns it as fraudulent. In a critical review of his book, J. Jacob (1990) attempted to separate out Eysenck's scholarly investigations of Freud's defects and untenable claims from the many Freudian contributions which we find useful, and cherish. For free thinkers and practical therapists (I'm referring to practitioners with some self-awareness, some maturity, and some gumption), dynamic psychotherapy is thrilling. The therapeutic process is an amorphous body of experiences, often deeply spiritual, workably practical and productive of techniques that evolve in each patient-therapist relationship (Horner, 1988). Freud pointed out that only the opening and the closing moves in the game of chess can be the subjects of instruction. An illuminating cartoon showed a church bulletin board announcing the next sermon: LOVE THY NEIGHBOR, and underneath (illegible!) RULES. Clearly the real significance of the Golden Rule as a desirable guide to moral behavior was lost before the sermon's plan of action could get expressed.

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Our metaphore of the moment, then, consists of our wish to question the *conceptual tools* we carry to the therapeutic job and to urge the use of a 'platform' from which to examine these tools (a therapeutic split of the therapist's ego). The exact tools we'll need can only be ascertained as the work proceeds with each patient. Our aim is not to destroy but to further growth by using flexible therapeutic activities. The potentials of 'the talking cure' will not be destroyed if our mutual goal with the patient is autonomy and growth from within.

Every theory of behavior must frame the human personality in some context and thereby lose some sense of the fullness of human experience (Spencer, 1952). However, we easily develop habits of dwelling on an individual's diagnosis and symptoms, or saying of a person, "oh, he's an antisocial personality", a view which unnecessarily narrows a human life to one limited perspective of it. A major goal of this paper has been to minimize this fault by stressing the importance of seeing each person organismically in an ongoing growth process and as a many-faceted individual whole.

Robert Coles calls for this holistic approach and deplores the narrowness of psychoanalytic orthodoxy (Ronda, op cit):

> [Coles] was disenchanted with psychoanalytic orthodoxy, feeling constrained by what he perceived as its mechanistic and reductive theory and language ... Rather than focusing on pathology, ego psychologists like Anna Freud and [Erik] Erikson, among others, emphasized psychic health, flexibility, growth, and development. Out in the field, Coles found these theories corroborated by the psychic normality of those who were desegregating Southern schools, churches, and politics. He became convinced that the Freudian emphasis on the unconscious, buried life simply could not account for such remarkably resilient behavior.

I emphasized concepts of one's individual stack of experiences, especially those shaping personality traits (character), and reminded you of Herbart's apperceptive mass. These concepts help us centralize the idea of the person as a complex but

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individualized entity, who is not dissected into segments – i.e., conscious vs. unconscious, and id vs. ego vs. superego, and so on.

In addition, I hope that by introducing the idea of the organismic process I have conveyed a central point – that any state of human existence is understandable as the result of an evolution from a core, that each 'stage' is the outgrowth of what preceded, and that this evolutionary process is ongoing throughout life. Many experiences arbitrarily defined as 'repressed' were not integrated into the apperceptive mass, or have merely been 'reabsorbed and reissued', so to speak, in evolved forms, just as the evolving fetus produces and alters several pairs of kidneys before the final pair remains intact. Repression exists in psychodynamics, we do exclude painful experiences and unacceptable impulses from 'consciousness,' but 'consciousness' and 'unconsciousness' presented as a dichotomy involve concepts best investigated in behavior cycle terms as continual.

We can use the idea of evolutionary development to assist us in making a conceptual framework for sickness and health, and the role of therapy in releasing these processes for further development. More importantly, seeing a person as an evolving entity reminds us that change per se does not equal improvement, but improvement cannot take place without it. As a final point, an organismic view automatically supports seeing a person with respect for them as an individual. There is an inherent assumption in the organismic view that each person develops along their own unique path. The therapist can support growth and health while allowing each person to arrive at a state of wellness which is unique for them. Basically, whatever our clinical training, I hope this work leaves the reader with a deeper sense of awe for the variability and complexity of the human experience, and the place the behavior cycle and the organismic process have in understanding it better.

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THE GERMANIC EARTH GODDESS IN *BEOWULF*?

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Does Beowulf oppose the Earth Goddess of ancient Germanic religion? The possibility of such an interpretation follows upon the discovery that the name *Gefion*, by which early Danes called their female chthonic deity, may occur in the Old English poem five times. The first two monster episodes – wherein the name seems to occur – have close parallels in Scandinavian literature. Because of these parallels it has long been thought that the Anglo-Saxons who invaded England brought a version of *Beowulf* with them from the continent, where their background was similar to the Danes. Focusing on the places where Gefion's name may be understood to occur – hereafter called "the Gefion passages" – can give us new insight into the meaning of the poem for its original Germanic audience, perhaps in the sixth century.

The five Gefion passages seem to highlight the championing of a new order antagonistic to goddess worship. In light of what appears to be an elaborate thematic statement about patrilineage in the poem, the new order may also have entailed a change in kinship systems. Grendel and his mother may stand as types for earlier, matrilineal tribes. Further, the hall which is the object of struggle between Beowulf and the first two monsters may symbolize the consolidation of new hierarchal social organization among the northern Germanic peoples.

The Roman historian Tacitus in chapter 40 of *Germania*, written at the end of the first century A.D., describes the Angles as worshipping Mother Earth (*Terra Mater*) under the name of Nerthus and practicing her ritual at her sanctuary on an island in the Ocean. H.M. Chadwick identified early Anglian Nerthus, Scandinavian Freyia, and Danish Gefion as "local forms of the chthonic [female] deity... whose cult was known to all Teutonic peoples" (1907, 263, 256, 289). He found Zealand, on which Copenhagen is now located, to be the island of early Anglian

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worship. Place name evidence connects Nerthus to it, and both the *Ynglinga Saga* (5) and the *Edda* of Snorri Sturluson (*Gylfaginning* 1) attribute the very creation of it to Gefion (Chadwick 1907, 258-259, 267, 289n1; Turville-Petre 1964, 187-188). Axel Olrik similarly saw the island as Gefion-Nerthus' religious center (1910, 23). Archaeological finds at Rappendum may now have located an actual site of rituals Tacitus described (Glob 1969, 167-169).

Etymologically uncertain, Nerthus may refer to "strength"; it corresponds exactly to Scandinavian *Niorð*. Written sources later than Tacitus describe Niorð as a god, not a goddess, but some Swedish place names indicate that the deity was female. Freyia and her brother Frey first appear as the children of Niorð; titles rather than proper names, *Freyia* and *Frey* mean "Lady" and "Lord." Gefion comes from the root "to give" and emphasizes the providing of well being and fertility. Freyia is often referred to in scaldic verse as *Gefn*, "gift" (Turville-Petre 1964, 171-178). Names like *Gabiae*, inscribed with goddess triads in Celto-Germanic contexts, assert the same *giving* quality attributed to Freyia and denoted in the name Gefion (Ellis Davidson 1964, 112-113; de Vries 1956-1957, 2: 293, 317).

In Old English poetry, *geofon* is a word for ocean which has been seen since Jakob Grimm (1968, 198) as related to the name Gefion of the Danish Earth Goddess (Ellis Davidson 1964, 114). Power to divide land and sea is shown by representations of Gefion in Norse literature; *Ynglinga Saga* (5), for example, describes her creation of Zealand by ploughing a section of Sweden into the sea. In a passage we will look at again, Snorri tells us "*Þa fór hon í Jǫtunheima ok gat Þar iiii sonu við jǫtni nǫkkurum; hon brá Þeim í ynxalíki ok færði Þá fyrir plóginn ok dró landit út á hafit ok vestr gegnt Óðinsey, ok er Þat kǫlluð Selund; Þar byggði hon síðan*" (Snorri 1966, 6) – "Next she went to a giant's home and there begot four sons with a giant. She shaped them in the likeness of oxen, yoked them to a plow and broke up the land unto the sea westwards opposite Odenso; it was called Selund [Zealand], and there she dwelt afterwards" (1932, 3-4). Niorð, Freyia and Frey are also intimately linked with the sea. Niorð is related to water by Icelandic and Norwegian place

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names like *Njarðvik* (Niorð's creek) and **Njarðarey* (Niorð's island). Niorð's home in Sweden is *Noatun* (the place of ships, harbor). One of Freyia's names in scaldic poetry was *Mardǫll*, the first part of which probably derived from the Norse word for ocean, *marr*. Frey owned *Skíðblaðnir*, the best of ships (Turville-Petre 1964, 163-178, 189). Each of these deities was invoked for fertility. The role of sea vessels in Teutonic fertility rites has been followed back into the Bronze Age (de Vries 1956-1957, 1: 108ff). The fertility of animals and the earth itself, however, is seen as an older aspect of these deities than the bounty of the sea (Turville-Petre 1969, 261). Tacitus wrongly supposed (*Germania* 9) that some of the Suebi (a division of the Germans which included the Angles) venerated a female earth and fertility deity as the result of the importation of her cult – because her emblem was a ship.

Gefion 1. Line 49.

The Germanic Chthonic Goddess first seems alluded to in line 49. In each of the Gefion passages the word in the poem can be understood as referring to the sea as well as the Goddess who has power over it. This is the only instance of the five where Friedrich Klaeber did not gloss the word in question as "ocean." Recounting the end of Scyld's funeral we are told:

Þā gȳt hīe him āsetton segen gyldenne
hēah ofer hēafod, lēton holm beran,
Gēafon on gārsecg; him wæs geōmor sefa

(Klaeber 1950, 11. 47-49; all references to this edition, unless noted).

Klaeber translated *Gēafon* (uncapitalized) as past plural of the verb to give, a reading which we have seen to be in keeping with the etymology of the Goddess' name. I would suggest:

Then yet they set for him a golden banner
high overhead, let water bear him,

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Gefion, on the waves; the heart was sad for them.

Taking *gēafon* to mean Gefion the Goddess here is rendered more secure by the fact that in Norse mythology Scyld was the husband of Gefion (Chadwick 1907, 267, 289-290). In the quoted passage from *Ynglinga Saga*, we have been told that after Gefion created Zealand by ploughing, she lived there. The passage continues: "*Hennar fekk Skyolder, sonr Óðins; Þau bjoggu at Hleiðru*" – "Skjold [Scyld], Odin's [Othin's] son, took her to wife and they lived in Leidra [Leire]" (Snorri 1966, 6; 1932, 4). We shall examine this reference to Leire again below. Here we may with some confidence conclude that in a poem about Scyld's funeral for an Anglo-Danish audience, the word *gēafon* could probably not have been used without invoking Gefion.

The *Beowulf* poet has already emphasized that Scyld's funeral was conducted according to his own wishes (11. 29-30). *Lēton* (1. 48) makes the Scyldings active agents and Gefion a more passive acquiescent in Scyld's rites. Perhaps she numbers among those whose heart is sad in line 49. Even though Scyld is borne by the sea, the power of the Goddess connected with it is minimized.

But in a ritual practice whose vestige is perhaps seen here, the Goddess had endured, and her consort was ephemeral. A tradition of sacred fertility kings, whose claim to regality consisted of being the mate of the goddess, is known in Scandinavia prior to the late 5th century, and Chadwick saw the title *frēa Ingwine*, applied to Hrothgar (1. 1320), as possibly a relic of such a practice (1907, 252-253). Gefion's relation with Gylfi, a king of Sweden, may be preserved in exactly this light (Ross 1978, 159-161). Even the priest in the ritual described by Tacitus has been understood as the husband of Nerthus, as have bog-men, most dating from after 200 B.C., found especially in Denmark (Chadwick 1907, 256, 320-323, 342-343; Turville-Petre 1964, 172; Glob 1969, 156-192; Schutz 1983, 323, 336; Bennike and Ebbesen 1986). In addition to direct evidence for this tradition we may seek insight from an analysis of Irish sources, for Francis Byrne has found the closest European parallels for archaic features of Irish kingship in

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pre-Christian Scandinavia. A ritual mating with the local Goddess seems to have been the basis of inauguration of each of the 150 tribal kings reigning at any given date in Ireland in the first centuries A.D. The earliest traditions about Medb, for example, identify her as the Goddess whose wedding periodically created a king at Tara (Byrne 1973, 7-27; Dillon 1946, 38-41; Mac Cana 1955-1956, 1958). In line 49 of *Beowulf* we appear to have token acknowledgement of the deity who, along with a tradition which made ritual marriage with her the basis for elevation of a chosen male, has been superseded.

What replaced her ritual was dynastic rule by the Scyldings. That Scyld modified an older tradition is clearly implied by *Ynglinga Saga* (5), for we are told first that Gefion dwelt (*byggði*) in Zealand, then that she and Scyld dwelt together (*bjoggu*) at Leire on the island. It is likely on the face of it that socially significant changes are involved in the distinction. The scope of such changes will perhaps be clearer after consideration of three aspects of Gefion's background. Veneration of the Germanic female earth deity apparently: (1) derived from the Neolithic period; (2) was rooted in the culture of tribes emphasizing a female kinship system; (3) took place in the context of egalitarian social relations.

Descent from the Neolithic of religious practices honoring Gefion has already been strongly hinted by *Ynglinga Saga*, for it links her with two of the technologies which originated in that epoch: domestication of animals (her ox-sons) and agriculture (ploughing). A stone engraving from Züschen of cattle yoked to a cart confirms the antiquity of the goddess cult described by Tacitus; the engraving, found in a burial monument, has been interpreted as a stone age representation of Nerthus (Schutz 1983, 106-107, 336). The Züschen artifact dates from about 2000 B.C. when the use of copper was already known, but identification of Zealand as a special place for the female chthonic deity's veneration provides a clue that her cult may have been organized there much earlier.

Archaeologists observe familiarly that Zealand offers the highest concentration of Neolithic tombs in Denmark (Glob 1967, 68). These are enormous monuments, commonly but not

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exclusively megalithic, in which communal burial was often practiced. Lili Kaelas has recently identified Zealand as the "nucleus" of the oldest megalithic tombs in the area, "urdolmens" (1983, 80). Figure 1 dramatically illustrates the importance of Zealand in the Neolithic. It diagrams areas of Scandinavia where polygonal or rectangular stone chambers were in the majority. Zealand shows high densities of both types, and indeed has the greatest concentration of megalithic tombs in Europe (Jażdżewski 1973, 71). These evidences of the island's central significance in the Neolithic make it conceivable that the "the chthonic [female] deity... known to all Teutonic peoples" had been associated with it from that era. We may note also Byrne's finding that sites at which the ancient Irish tribal kings were inaugurated regularly show a "close association... with Neolithic burial mounds" (1973, 20). A connection between the thousands of Neolithic communal tombs of Denmark and Grendel's Mother will be proposed below.

Chadwick forcefully propounded two aspects of the veneration of Gefion I am focusing on here, ending *Origin of the English Nation* on the note that matrilineal social organization, lasting from the stone age, "survived until the iron age was well established" (340). He found that agricultural tribes based on blood relations on the women's side had constituted Germanic society since the Neolithic, and he astutely (Gough 1961, 552-553) used matrilocal residence (which he called Beena marriage) as evidence of matriliny (328-340). Subsequently Bertha Philpotts and E.A. Thompson have also concluded from written evidence that a shift from matrilineal kinship was underway among the Germans at the beginning of the historical period (Philpotts 1913, 270; Thompson 1965, 17) [Note 1]. Traces of widespread European matriliny descended from the Neolithic have been seen in the archaeological record (Childe 1964, 123; Gimbutas 1989, xx; Green 1986, 73), as has a belief system in which a Goddess was primary (Crawford 1957). A method for discerning matrilineal social organization from settlement data has been proposed (Battaglia 1990).

Considerable social parity in the late prehistoric period is increasingly being attested by archaeology . A recent study of

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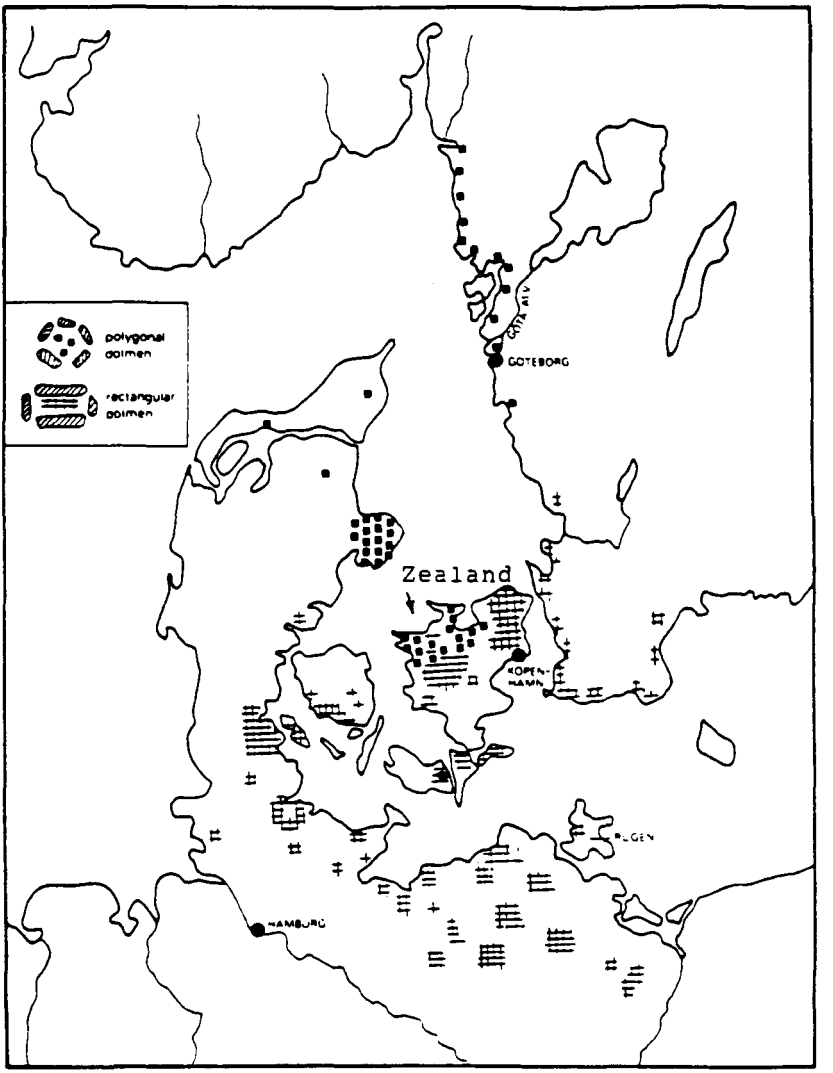

FIGURE 1: Areas where rectangular and polygonal Neolithic chambered tombs predominate in Germany and Scandinavia (after Kaelas).

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Social and Religious Organization in Bronze Age Denmark found that pronounced social stratification was not part of the Bronze Age in Scandinavia and northern Germany and, further, that at the end of the period a "decline occurs in social complexity" and a "more egalitarian social organization" emerges (Levy 1982, 55, 70, 113-115; for Zealand, Kristiansen 1978, 182). One study which appears to challenge such conclusions nonetheless states that as of the third century A.D. the elite which existed in Danish society were still "commoners who tilled their own fields" (Jensen, 1982, 249). The Chauci have been characterized as "a free peasant society enjoy[ing until the first century A.D.] a balanced egalitarian social structure, reflected in the equality of property ownership" (Schutz 1983, 320). Reported aspects of the cremation urnfields of Schleswig-Holstein, the Anglo-Saxon homeland, are of considerable interest. "Cultural... [and] population continuity" between 1100 B.C. and 500 A.D. has been indicated. In the Bad Segeberg field of 3000 grave deposits between 500 B.C. and 50 B.C.: the burial urns had seen household use, suggesting routine connection with work-a-day affairs among the deceased; neither weapons nor imported articles were part of grave inventories; male and female burials cannot readily be distinguished; and conclusions of social differentiation are not allowed by the very uniform grave equipment. As Herbert Schutz sums it up: "The evidence of the early cultural phases points to an egalitarian society" (1983, 314-316, 350).

Two studies of Danish burial practices have now distinguished a "northern" zone where until about 400 A.D. "socially egalitarian clan structures" ("*socialt udglattende slægtsstrukturer*") continued; women held prominent positions while status was indicated with "no noteworthy degree of wealth" ("*ikke hvad vi vil kalde rigdom*") (Ringtved 1986, 103, 105 [Figs. 8, 12], 169; Hedeager and Kristiansen 1981, 127).

Returning to the situation in *Beowulf*, Line 15 can be seen as showing that portions of Scandinavian society continued to enjoy egalitarian social relations within the time frame of the poem: the Danes were leaderless (*aldorlēase*) until Scyld came. Coercive government is certainly represented by Scyld's

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terrifying his neighbors and forcing them to pay tribute. Although a recent study found the exercise of centralized power by Germanic rulers to be the result of external influences, Chadwick's judgment that this passage in *Beowulf* shows the "ambition" and "the extent of the power of some kings during the migration period" seems more plausible (Swanton 1982, 24; Chadwick 1907, 178-179).

But an actual Danish king named Scyld who gave name to the dynasty probably never existed: "the Scyldingas did not get their name because they were really descended from Scyld, but Scyld was created in order to provide an eponymous father to the Scyldingas" (Chambers 1967, 77). From the clear identification of Scyld with raiding, weapons and treasure, we can conclude that warlords with *permanent* retinues had emerged in Denmark by the fifth century (Ringtved 1986, 197; Hedeager and Kristiansen 1981, 158). Thompson provided a historical analysis of such transformations among earlier Germans which had made fighting "a regular and highly respected means of passing one's life" (1965, 53; cf. Chadwick 1907, 180-181). As Lotte Hedeager put it in her archaeological view of this process in the late Roman period: "war, pillage and robbery were necessary measures to sustain the system" (1987, 133, 138). Continuing autocratic kingship begins in Denmark with the Scyldingas, "sons of (the) shield," although Scyld himself was fictitious.

Written records provide sketchy and sometimes conflicting accounts of the first Scylding rulers, before figures of doubtless historicity appear, the first of whom is the Healfdene of our poem (Chadwick 1907, 152). Several Scylding encampments, i.e., sites where a lord with his retinue resided, may have existed in Denmark contemporaneously with each other and with matrilineal tribal organizations of long standing. Perhaps the camp of the Honor-Scyldings (11. 464, 1710) was such a site. But two early sources identify Scyld himself with Leire: *Ynglinga Saga* (5), as we have seen, and *Skjoldunga Saga* (Chambers 1967, 365).

Both the historical Hrothgar and his nephew Hrothulf are associated with a court *at Leire* which Chambers believed to be

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the site of Heorot: "we may be fairly sure that the spot where Hrothgar built his 'Hart Hall' and where Hrothulf held that court to which the North ever after looked... was Leire, where the grave mounds [now] rise out of the waving cornfields" (1967, 19-20). Labeling Heorot "greatest of hall buildings" (*healærna mæst*, 1.78) the *Beowulf* poet claims central power for its king in a hierarchal social order. As Hedeager explained a recurring change in Germanic society: "The old tribal structure based on ties of kinship and alliance transformed gradually into... [a] class-divided state" (1987, 137; Ringtved 1986, 169). The great hall may have consolidated and celebrated a new institution in Denmark, the king whose standing warband enforced his authority.

Furthermore, we have seen *Ynglinga Saga* call Scyld a son of Othin. There is considerable reason to believe that the new kingship established at Leire was the center of a new religious practice, involving worship primarily of male gods. The ninth-yearly sacrifice of men and animals at Leire was described by Latin chronicler Thietmar. Chadwick has analyzed the ritual as an early example of *The Cult of Othin*, and he argued that *Beowulf* shows this religion was already known to the Danes (1899, 24-27, 53; 1907, 245). Axel Olrik, while questioning Thietmar's location of the sacrifice, understood the chronicler to have described a ritual actually conducted until the mid-tenth century and associated with the residence of the Danish kings which had, in the time of Hrothgar, been at Leire (Olrik and Hollander 1919, 330-333). Healfdene's holding a "great sacrifice at midwinter" (*"blót mikit at miðjum vetri"* [Snorri, 1907, 251]) for the extension of his own life, and keeping prisoners for a time before "hanging them" (*"suspendio consumpsit"* [Saxo 1859, 80]) may be additional indicators that the ritual which Thietmar described was practiced by the Scyldings. Since "the cult of Othin seems to have been practiced chiefly, if not exclusively, at the courts of kings and nobles" (Chadwick 1899, 28, 70; Turville-Petre 1972, 14-19; Hald 1963, 107-109), we may presume that the religion's emphasis on martial glory provided a rationale for the emerging system of social inequality. The hall which the historical Hrothgar appears to have erected at Leire

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can be understood as representing another innovation in Denmark: a system of belief in which male gods were central and which justified new social conditions.

To this picture of what Heorot may have stood for, a third innovation should be added and that is patriliny, a kinship system based on relations through men. The opening lines of the poem seem to announce this theme, for *cyning* and *ætheling* in lines 2 and 3 are in form patronymics (Chadwick 1907, 315); the declared subject is thus the glory and courage of central figures of male kinship systems. Scyld's hereditary kingship would not even have been possible without such a system. The establishment of patrilineally inherited kingship (and hierarchy) among the Danes may be reflected in a statement of Snorri. He tells us Healfdene was assured in response to the sacrifice already referred to: "*Þat myndi Þó vera CCC vetra, er engi myndi vera i ætt hans kona eða ótíginn maðr*" – "that for three hundred years there would be no women among his descendants, and no man of common rank" (1907, 251; Garmonsway and Simpson 1968, 126). Hedeager sees a shift to a "strongly patrilineal" system from one in which women formerly had more significant roles (1987, 128 [on bilateral kinship, see note 7 below]). Heorot is said to be the greatest mead hall the children of men, *yldo bearn* (l. 70), had ever heard of. Word choice throughout *Beowulf* emphasizes male kinship.

Grendel, who opposes Heorot, is said to have been driven *mancynne fram* (1.110), literally "from man kin;" for clarity I will translate such phrases "from male kin." The poem says the Christian deity thus punished the kin of Cain for the murder of Abel. But if the historical Hrothgar's court was not Christian, this charge may well not have been part of the case against Grendel in the original work from which derive *Beowulf* and *Grettis Saga* (Chambers 1967, 50-53; Chadwick 1959). At any rate, following the exile from male kin, "every misbegotten thing awoke," with *untȳdras* (1.111) being the word used to complain about Grendel's lineage system. Several of the specified creatures, most clearly giants and elves, share a connection with large stones in Scandinavian mythology (Turville-Petre 1964, 235; Glob 1967, 148-150; Motz 1982, 71;

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Schutz 1983, 169-170), which suggests that traditions concerning them originated in the Neolithic. We have already seen that the matrilineal tribes of early Germany may have descended from that epoch. The poem's original audience perhaps understood Grendel (and the other misbegotten creatures) as representing old matrilineal tribes whose religion and egalitarian social order had suffered from the martial consolidation which made Heorot possible [Note 2]. Grendel, we are shortly told, was the "enemy of male kin," *fēond mancynnes* (1.164).

"(Male) relative (by marriage)" has been suggested as an original meaning for *mæg*, the common word for kinsman in the poem (Markey 1987, 315). Such a usage may have developed in a society where men married into a (female) family (by blood).

The most telling indication of patrilineal kinship being a key issue in the poem is that the very first words out of the hero's mouth apparently commit him, his followers and his nation to the new order. "*Wē synt gumcynnes Gēata lēode*," says Beowulf (1.260): "We are of male kin, people of the Geats." *Gumcynnes* emphatically specifies patriliny. The next line – "*ond Higelāces heorðgenēatas*" ("and Hygelac's hearth companions") – presumably associates Beowulf and his men with a hall, and thus identifies them as agents of a hierarchal social order. This declaration is followed by the naming of Beowulf's father (11. 262-263).

Gefion 2. Line 362.

Having satisfied the shore guard with his espousal of social organization comparable to that of the beleaguered Danes, Beowulf is conducted to the king. In asking Hrothgar for an audience for the Geats, Wulfgar appears to use Gefion's name for a second time:

Hēr syndon geferede,	*feorran cumene*
ofer Geofenes begang	*Gēata lēode* (11. 361-362).
Here have arrived,	come far
over Gefion's realm,	people of the Geats.

When Gefion was last named, she shared in the loss at Scyld's

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funeral. Since then, however, a kingship based on patrilineal heredity has been established and the hall of inequality has been built. In these lines it is possibly implied that the long trip of the Geats over water has been daring, because Gefion now represents a potential adversary. At any rate, Danes still appear to believe in her.

Begong, translated here as "realm," recurs in the poem, apparently counterposing domains of earth and sky. Beowulf's killing of Grendel will lead to the observation that no one "under the realm of heaven," *under swegles begong* (l. 860), was better than he. Grendel's mother will be said to "guard the realm of water," *flōda begong... behēold* (ll. 1497-1498). Hrothgar will describe himself as having had no adversary *under swegles begong* (l. 1773) for fifty years. Having defeated Grendel and his mother, Beowulf will offer to return to Hrothgar "over the realm of water" (l. 1826) if he hears of further trouble, and later will demonstrate his continuing power against water spirits by swimming back to his homeland "over the realm of waters" (l. 2367) with the battle gear of thirty men after Hygelac is killed.

Gefion 3. Line 515.

In Unferth's account of Beowulf's swimming match with Breca, the Goddess' name again seems to be mentioned. I have always found the episode curious: Why is Beowulf so hostile to the sea that he must swim with a sword in his hand? Perhaps because water was especially thought the domain of the chthonic female deity. We have already seen linguistic and literary evidence of this association; archaeological testimony may also be considered in the form of ritual deposits of valuables in wells and bogs, sometimes clearly linked with goddess rituals and sometimes on sites continuously in use from the Neolithic (Lauring 1958, 135, 109; Ellis Davidson 1964, 40-41). Goddess figurines have been found in association with such deposits (e.g., Glob 1969, 152-154, 180-183); when male and female votive pairs have been recovered in marsh contexts, the female deity often has been more emphatically rendered (Schutz 1983, 331-334).

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"Gefion welled up in waves," "*Geofon ȳðum wēol*" (l. 515), says Unferth, when Beowulf and Breca made test of the waters for pride. Although Beowulf's corrective version of the story does not mention Gefion by name, the phenomena she was said to be responsible for – welling up and waves – both recur. Beowulf, indeed, says he had more hardship from waves, *earfeðo on ȳðum* (l. 534), than any other man. The swimmers carried swords to protect themselves from whales, Beowulf says, presuming from them a hostility so virulent that the weapons had to be carried unsheathed. The water welling up, *wado weallende*, (l. 546) separated Beowulf from Breca after he had made a point of staying near him through five nights. It was precisely waves becoming rough – *hrēo wæron ȳða* (l. 548) – and stirring up the spirit of the ocean fishes which incited the attack. The ocean acted malevolently to divide the swimmers, and its agitation caused the sea denizens to attack. Beowulf was dragged to the bottom, *grunde* (l. 553), dispatched that attacker, but again met creatures whose favorite terrain was the sea ground, *sægrunde* (l. 564) – a development which will become more significant in the next Gefion passage. Beowulf killed nine sea-beasts [Note 3]; God's candle of light came in the morning. Beowulf repeats the claim that he was more distressed on the ocean streams than any other man, and says that he fought the hardest fight ever heard of under heaven's vault. Water welling up again (l. 581) this time supported him and carried him to land.

The enmity of Gefion possibly hinted in line 362 now seems explicit in Beowulf's description of a prior event. The Goddess' realm apparently rose up against him, but neither the ocean nor its creatures could best him. He had, he said, more sea strength (l. 533) than any other man. This episode can be understood as a debate within the poem about the past and future of the Scandinavian people. Beowulf's adolescent victory over Gefion's water monsters may refer to a change which had already taken place among some of the northern European tribes.

The Cimbri who shocked Rome in the late second century B.C. may have been the first Northern Teutonic people of the

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early historic period to install patriliny and hierarchy in place of more communal matrilineal relations. Classical sources refer to them as ruled by kings (Chadwick 1907, 310). Difficult to detect in the archaeological record, they have been recently described as pushed into "social imbalance" by an "unfavorable environment," especially the loss of farmland due to marine incursion (Schutz 1983, 350; Kristiansen 1978, 182). Chadwick has seen them as providing at least an early antecedent of *The Cult of Othin* in the North (35-38). In the vernacular record, however, the Geats are considered the first people in the North to worship Othin, as is suggested by the facts that *Gautr*, the equivalent of Geat, is one of the names of the god in Old Norse and, most significantly, that he was called *Gautatýr*, that is, "God of the Geats" (Chadwick 1907, 270; see Chadwick 1959, 186). Possibly relevant are three "representations of one-eyed faces, presumably representing the god Odin" from north Jutland in the early Roman period (Liversage 1980, 132). As a war god whose cult was aristocratic, Othin was the mayor Northern deity most antithetic to the peaceful, settled, egalitarian communities in which matrilineal tribes may have continued from the Neolithic. Its funereal and other practices were suited to traveling bands and in many ways insisted on the primacy of men. For example, in the practice called suttee the wife of a chieftain was killed upon his death and buried with him (Chadwick 1899, 27-28, 45-46, 56-57, 70).

Referring to an old contest and suggesting that Beowulf had trouble with Gefion because of his own pride, Unferth may imply that accommodation is possible with the matrilineal agriculturalists who venerate the Goddess. The peacefort, *freoðoburh*, of line 522 may have come into existence because such an agreement had been worked out in the past. Since fortified sites of the Early Iron Age are such a rarity in Northern Europe we perhaps should consider in relation to this *Beowulf* reference the sites Borremose, Priorsløkke, and Olmer's Dyke (Liversage 1982, 87-93). Beowulf's reply to Unferth, however, disdains any possibility of accord. His unsheathed sword was defense, not provocation. He acted so fiercely only because of the adversity he faced.

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Beowulf ends by taunting Unferth and even his whole people for cowardice. With three slighting references to Unferth's ethnicity in six and a half lines (11. 595-601), closing with alliteration between *Gār-Denum* and *Gēata*, Beowulf boasts that Geatish courage and strength will be demonstrated to Grendel not very long from that moment (11. 601-603). Geats have precisely the power Danes lack. No resolution except battle victory is conceivable.

Gefion 4. Line 1394.

In the previous passages what appears to be the name of the Danish Earth Goddess occurs in the speech of the *Beowulf* poet, of Wulfgar and of Unferth. Beowulf's reply to Unferth, while claiming recognition for his own achievements, undercut the importance Unferth attached to Gefion. But the Goddess' name next seems to occur in the mouth of Beowulf himself in the form of a boast that her power will not avail against him. This comes in the midst of his preparation to fight Grendel's mother. The episode involving her brings to a crescendo several of the themes we have been following.

A list of anti-patrilineal offenses is cited against Grendel or his kin, beginning with the charge that his maternal line descended from a twisted father-kin murderer. When Grendel's mother is introduced we are told that she had to dwell in terrible water since the point in Judeo-Christian time when Cain killed his brother, "kin on his father's side," *fæderenmæge* (1. 1263). Relationship through the male parent apparently made the crime worse. From that deed came many fated spirits, of whom Grendel was one (11. 1265-1266). Second, Grendel is again called "enemy of male kin," *mancynnes fēond* (1. 1276). Third, Hrothgar's people "do not know of any father" for Grendel – *no hīe fæder cunnon* (1. 1355). So being without proper father lineage is also charged against Grendel's line. If Grendel and his mother represent the matrilineal tribe, the institution itself is impugned as originating in patrilineal murder, maintaining an enmity against male kinship, and amounting to systemized bastardy.

After this indictment Hrothgar describes the secret land,

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country of wolf cliffs [Note 4], held by the monster and his kin. "There the mountain stream disappears downward under the darkness of the bluff, water under the earth. Not far from here measured by miles," he goes on, "stands the lake over which hang frosty trees; a wood with roots fast covers-over the water:

under næssa genipu / *ðær fyrgenstrēam*
flōd under foldan. / *niÞer gewīteð*
mīlgemearces, / *Nis Þæt feor heonon*
ofer Þæm hongiað / *Þæt se mere standeð*
wudu wyrtum fæst / *hrinde bearwas,*
/ *wæter oferhelmað*
(11. 1359-1364).

The compound of *helm* in the last word of this passage suggests that the trees protect the lake.

Beowulf's boast will begin by saying that his enemy will find no protection (*helm*, 1. 1392), and other aspects of this landscape will be invoked. But the passage continues with Hrothgar saying: "There may be seen each night a grim wonder, fire in the water. No one lives, of the children of men, so wise that he knows that bottom" –

Þær mæg nihta gehwæm / *niðwundor sēon,*
fȳr on flōde. / *Nō Þæs frōd leofað*
gumena bearna / *Þæt Þone grund wite*
(11. 1365-1367).

The ground under the lake entails an ultimate, something completely unknown to men's progeny. *Grund* may have had an ancient association with the Germanic Earth Goddess. Many, if not all, instances of the word in *Beowulf* seem to evoke her presence. We have already seen the word used twice in the swimming match to refer to the place where, curiously, the sea creatures preferred to be; apparently they were strongest there. At Grendel's Mother's lake we now see water departing under the earth. This figure serves, thematically, to assert the primacy of the earth power, even over water. Water may cover ground

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elsewhere, but here water is seen as *being covered by* earth. Furthermore, the sea in which Beowulf swam against Breca and Grendel's Mother's lake are both shown to have ground under them. The chthonic aspect of the Goddess is primary, even though she has power over the sea and it has been described as her realm.

No "children of men" (*gumena bearna*) know the ground at the bottom of Grendel's Mother's lake. Denoting a male relationship, the phrase may emphasize an antagonism between the new order and Grendel's kin. But, not specifying a kinship system, the phrase does not so clearly designate patrilinealists as words like *gumcynnes* and *mancynnes* used elsewhere. For in fact, members of matrilines have commonly recognized biological paternity. But the possibility that members of a patrilineal system are meant here is borne out in the repetition of *bearn* a few lines later. Responding to Hrothgar, Beowulf is called *bearn EcgÞēowes* (l. 1383), "child of Ecgtheow," his male parent.

Despite the fearsomeness of Grendel's Mother's domain, Beowulf immediately declares himself ready to win fame by enacting vengeance for her attack on the hall. He promises that the perpetrator of that raid (referred to by the male pronoun) will find no escape into the eerie landscape he has been told about:

Ic hit Þē gehāte: *nō hē on helm losaÞ,*
nē on foldan fæÞm, *nē on fyrgenholt,*
nē on Gyfenes grund, *gā Þær hē wille*
(11. 1392-1394)

I promise it to you: he will not escape into
refuge,
Neither in the embrace of the earth,
nor in the mountain wood,
Not (even) in the ground of Gefion, go where he
will.

Whether his opponent enters the earth like the disappearing stream, is covered by a strange wood like the lake, or even gets

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to the ground never seen by children of men and is protected by Gefion herself, Beowulf promises to seek out and destroy the adversary. He is prepared to combat the Germanic Earth Goddess herself. The creature he meets may be the Goddess' representative or, more specifically, a guardian spirit.

When Beowulf enters the mere he is perceived immediately by the one who "guarded the realm of waters" – *flōda begong... behēold* (11. 1497-1498).

Earlier Wulfgar announced the arrival of the Geats *ofer Geofenes begang*. "Gefion's realm" was there seen as a kenning for water. Here someone who guards the "realm of water," clearly, would be closely allied with Gefion. This guardian aspect of Grendel's Mother, repeatedly invoked, for example *grundhyrde*, "ground-keeper" (1. 2136), seems an important link with the tradition of female guardian spirits (O.N. *dísir*) which lasted throughout the first millennium in northern Europe. The tradition is most elaborately preserved in Scandinavia, where public pagan practice held on the longest. O.E. *ides*, used twice in *Beowulf* of Grendel's Mother [Note 5], may be related to O.N. *dís* (singular, female guardian spirit) and has been found sufficiently alike for cross influence even if the etymologies are separate (Turville-Petre 1964, 222).

The subject area is very complicated; I will only sketch the possibilities and problems of seeing Grendel's Mother in this tradition. A *dís* was usually female, and possessed conflicting aspects, sometimes acting like what is called in Christian legend a guardian angel (Ellis Davidson 1964, 61; Turville-Petre 1964, 232), but also having power over the dead and choosing who would die. In this capacity she might be feared, and it is an expansion of this aspect, merged with other types of feminine power, which is exemplified in Grendel's Mother and a host of dangerous female figures of Germanic mythology.

As Hilda Ellis Davidson put it: "the heathen Germans believed in fierce female spirits doing the commands of the war god, stirring up disorder, taking part in battle, seizing and perhaps even devouring the slain" (Ellis Davidson 1964, 62). The ferocity and battle prowess of some of these figures is not open to question, despite a recent objection that Celtic rather

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than Germanic tradition has made Grendel's Mother so formidable [Note 6]. If the warrior females of early Germanic myth turn out to be more bloodthirsty than their Celtic counterparts, it may be because women officiating at human sacrifice were part of Teutonic experience from the second century B.C. Cimbri to the tenth century A.D. Viking Rus (Chadwick 1899. pp. 37-38, 47-48; Smyser 1965). The Cimbri priestesses and the Rus angel of death were patently serving the war god like the spirits described by Ellis Davidson. But as mythological figures the *dísir* probably antedate the Cimbri by many centuries.

That the *dísir* are figures of antiquity is suggested by place names which refer to them. The word *Disin*, probably meaning "meadow of the disir," by which five sites in south-east Norway are called, "appears to date from the prehistoric period." The element of the word which means *meadow* "was often applied to places of public worship." For these reasons E.O.G. Turville-Petre has concluded that "the cult of the *dísir* was of great age." Thus belief in these spirits can be seen as dating from long before classical authors wrote about the people of the North. Place names link the *dísir* with large stones throughout Scandinavia. In Iceland rocks are commonly called *Landdísasteinar* (stones of the land-*dísir*); Norway records *Disahroys* (stone pile of the *dísir*); in Sweden is found *Diseberg* (rock of the *dísir*) (Turville-Petre 1964, 225).

These connections hint that the *dísir* derive from the Neolithic period, whose responsibility for agriculture and megalithic architecture has already been noted. The concept of *dísir* may have developed from a practice of ancestor veneration associated with the funerary monuments of that era. Over four thousand megalithic communal tombs are known in Denmark and hundreds in southern Sweden; non-megalithic communal barrows constructed during the same period can be found in lesser numbers on the Danish mainland (Ellis Davidson 1967, 38; Jażdżewski 1973, Figs. 3, 1). Colin Renfrew, who developed the analysis that Neolithic communal tombs were created as territorial markers, said the users of each monument consisted of "an extended family or lineage, all its inhabitants tracing

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their descent, or that of their spouse, back to a common ancestor" (1973, 137). If the common ancestors were female, and thus the groups matrilineal, the concept of powerful female forbears looking out for their family trees might readily have evolved over time (Hempel's *matronae*, 1966). The presence of "*Idun*" as a Goddess name on Zealand (Olrik 1910, 23) makes possibly important the semantic relationship Brate drew (1911-12, 147-148) between that name and the *dísir*.

In the archaeological survey *Pagan Scandinavia* Ellis Davidson remarked that the continued use of Neolithic communal tombs over a long period "implies fixed ritual continuing over centuries. One purpose of the rites at the tomb must have been to ensure the continuing fertility of the soil" (39).
Characterizing ancient fertility beliefs which survived into the historical period, she stated elsewhere: "In the fertility religion, the emphasis is not so much on a world of the gods to which man attains after death if he fulfills certain conditions as on the veneration of dead ancestors, and the need for the living to remember them at various feasts and festivals, to visit their graves, and perhaps to sit on their burial mounds for wisdom and inspiration" (1964, 155). One passage in which the *dísir* seem to be dead ancestors has been summed up with the observation: "fertility cults cannot always be distinguished from the cults of the dead" (Turville-Petre 1964, 225).

Neolithic communal burial rituals may have given rise to belief in the *dísir*. Such a background would explain the repeated association of these spirits with clans or lineage groups. As Turville-Petre put it: "one of the functions of the *dísir* was to support the clan by promoting the fertility of its women" (1964, 224). Large standing stones at the corners of some Neolithic communal tombs in North Germany are still known as "guardian" stones (Schutz 1983, 101). We may note also that Scandinavian elves have been considered "male counterparts of the *dísir*," and that the association of elves with ancient burial mounds is very pronounced in folklore (Turville-Petre 1964, 231; Ellis Davidson 1964, 153-158). In origin the *dís* would thus have been like the Irish banshee, literally *ben síde*, "woman of the mound," with *síde* commonly referring to

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megalithic monuments of the prehistoric period (Byrne 1973, p. 20).

In scaldic poetry the word *dís* means goddess. The *dísir* were objects of worship and their feast was celebrated at winternights. In fact the feasts of the *dísir*, the elves and the other fertility deities all seem to have taken place at "about the same time." Freyia herself is called *Vanadís*, that is, *dís* of the Vanir, the Scandinavian chthonic, fertility deities (Turville-Petre 1964, 221-226, 231), which may mean she was understood as their ancestor and guardian [Note 7].

One of the parallels to *Beowulf* in Germanic literature can be found in the Icelandic saga of Orm, son of Storolf, the *Orms-Þáttr Stórólfssonar*. In an episode which is seen as related to the English poem, Orm fights to the death in a cave a she monster and her son. The incident gives dramatic evidence of the ferocity of Germanic warrior females. But the story is also of interest because of the presence of a megalith, a great stone ("*bjarginu*," Chambers 1967, 188) which seemed too big for any man to move, blocking the hero's entrance to the cave.

I am not aware of anything about Grendel's Mother which so pointedly associates her with the Neolithic as the *bjarg* in the *OrmsÞáttr*. But her decided connection with snakes is suggestive of the *dísir* who, in *Krakumál*, for example, use poisonous snakes to dispatch Ragnar Loðbrók to the afterlife (Chadwick 1899, 10; for other literary contexts, Chadwick 1959; for iconography, Levy 1982, 105; Ringtved 1986, 148; Shetelig and Falk 1978, 207). "Many of the family of snakes," *wyrmcynnes fela* (l. 1425), were found at Grendel's Mother's mere, and the sword hanging in her underwater hall is *wyrmfāh* (l. 1698), "snake-ornamented."

Gefion 5. Line 1690

Social institutions – matrilineal tribes – and part of the belief system – female guardian spirits – of Goddess religion appear to have been maligned in the part of *Beowulf* examined so far. When next Gefion's name may be seen, the challengers of Hrothgar and Heorot have been vanquished and the poem consolidates Beowulf's physical victory by attacking the Goddess

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on the level of ideas. Her champions destroyed, Gefion herself seems to be pictured as not worthy of sympathy. The sword brought back from the mere evokes the criticism:

Hrōðgar maðelode –
ealde lāfe,
fyrngewinnes,
Gifen gēotende
frēcne gefērdon;
ēcean Dryhtne;
Þurh wæteres wylm
hylt scēawode,
on ðæm wæs ōr writen
syðÞan flōd ofslōh,
gīgante cyn; [Note 8]
Þaet wæs fremde Þēod
him Þæs endelēan
Waldend sealde
(11. 1687-1693).

Hrothgar spoke – looked at the hilt
old remnant, on which was the beginning written
of ancient strife, when a flood slew
Gefion gushing, the race of giants;
they suffered terribly; that was a people foreign
to the eternal Leader; to them for that a final payment
through water's whelm, the Wielder gave.

Gefion's flood may be said to have wiped out the giants. Two criticisms of the Goddess would seem to be involved. She is painted as (1) originating conflict on earth; and (2) having been treacherous to her followers, if the giants can be so understood.

The first of these assertions is peculiar: a primeval flood is represented as an original act of aggression, the first great adversity seen on earth. Gefion performed the first genocide, eliminating a race of human-like creatures. The charge perplexes even more when we realize that it flies in the face of the character of the Earth Goddess recorded in Tacitus. The Roman historian said that during Nerthus' holiday the tribes who worshipped her: "make no war, take no arms; every weapon is put away; peace and quiet are then and then alone known and loved" – "*Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata*" (*Germania* 40). Thus a reinterpretation of the Goddess appears to be advanced in *Beowulf*. What are we to make of the poem's

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assertion that, uncharacteristically warlike, she was the initiator of strife on earth?

Probably an important clue is that she acts against the giants. This passage has traditionally been seen as a reference to Christian mythology [Note 9]. But part of the plausibility of seeing Gefion in the poem is that it brings into perspective the giants of Northern legend.

These are often found in close relation to the earth deities (Motz 1982, 75-76). In the excerpt from *Ynglinga Saga* quoted earlier Gefion bore four sons to a giant, enabling her to plow Zealand, her homeland, into existence. After a war among the gods, Niorð, by then male, married the giantess Skaði, a relationship which is paralleled by Freyia's brother Frey mating with the giantess Gerð (Turville-Petre 1964, 165). Various crises in Asgarð, the male-ruled pantheon of late Scandinavian mythology, were caused by the desire of a number of giants (Hrungnir, Thrym, etc.) for Freyia. Although only one episode of "unseemly behavior" by Freyia is recorded, there are hints even in the late texts that she may have encouraged such attentions (Ellis Davidson 1964, 115). In light of their inclusion with giants among the *untÿdras* of line 111, it may be significant that she was also accused of sexual intercourse with *elves* (Turville-Petre 1964, 130; dwarves 141). Furthermore, "a close link between the giant people of the deep and those who dwelt in the depths of the earth" has been noticed, with the suggestion even being made that Aegir, the sea god, "should perhaps be among the giants rather than the gods" (Ellis Davidson 1964, 130-131). I sketched above (note 3) a comparison between his nine daughters and the *niceras* killed by Beowulf.

The association of giants with large stones has already been cited as a link between them and the Neolithic. More telling is the nomenclature in which folklore has fused with archaeology. The six hundred Neolithic passage graves of Denmark are known as *jættestuer*, translated "Giants Tombs" in the work of P.V. Glob (1967, 87). Presumably the immense size of these tombs is responsible for the title, as it has been for the North German folk practice of calling Neolithic passage graves, as at Wienberg in Schleswig, "giants' beds" (Schutz 1983, 94, 101).

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The architecture may have given rise to the belief that giants had dwelt on earth during the Neolithic period.

In light of the possibility that Northern European society was made up of matrilineal tribes in the Neolithic, two indications that females had special significance in the identity of Scandinavian giants deserve attention. Various sources report a forceful circumstance: the river which divided the world of men from the world of giants was swollen by, or perhaps comprised of, the urine or menstrual blood of giantesses. Less emphatically, in a history of Norway attributed to Thor in the tenth century, female members of a race of giants were the inhabitants against whom Thor contended to make the country safe for men (Turvillle-Petre 1964, 78-80, 90-91).

We may believe that the original Germanic audience of *Beowulf* understood giants as the followers or at least allies of Gefion. Her rendering them extinct was thus an act of great treachery. The effect of this passage would therefore have been to spread confusion in the mind of anyone who still believed in the female earth deity.

We need not, and perhaps should not see the Biblical story of Noah as the original referent of the flood described here. Marine transgressions as a result of deteriorating climate are a well attested feature of the geology of northern Europe in the millennium from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. "Around 500 B.C. Denmark registered a 2°C drop in temperature.... By 300 B.C. inundations along the shores of the North and Baltic Seas and a rise in the ground water level had brought about a reduction of inhabitable land at a time when the area appears to have experienced an increase in the population" (Schutz 1983, 241; Iverson 1973, 106; Kristiansen 1978, 180; but Jensen 1982, 196-197). The "free peasant society" of the Chauci, described earlier, underwent a reorganization which introduced hierarchy among them early in the second century A.D. Pressure of the advancing sea was clearly a factor in the changes. An extensively excavated Chauci settlement north of Bremerhaven about which these conclusions have been reached had to be abandoned in the fifth century A.D. as a result of the incursion of the North Sea: "The increased salinity of the low-lying areas deprived the

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villagers of their drinking water, turned the meadows into salt marshes and in the end forced the inhabitants to give up their way of life" (Schutz 1983, 320-321). In *Social and Religious Organization in Bronze Age Denmark*, Janet Levy has described the beginning of this climatic shift in terms which are suggestive here: "The possible agricultural failures related to a major climatic change ... would have led to a loss of faith in ... fertility rituals" (110) [Note 10]. A crisis of faith in the Germanic earth deity seems precisely what the fifth Gefion passage of *Beowulf* was designed to evoke.

The religious and social changes this paper has focused on possibly occurred first in the North among the Cimbri. So consideration is warranted of their own tradition, recorded by Strabo, that a hostile sea had forced them to leave their lands: "they were driven out of their habitations by a great flood tide" – μεγάλη πλημμυρίδι ἐξελαθεῖεν ἐκ τῶν τόπων [*Geography*, 7.2.1]. It may well be that a complaint against the female earth deity as the originator of strife had been part of the cult of Othin for hundreds of years before being recorded in *Beowulf* line 1690.

The similarity to the story of Eve may not be the result of literary borrowing.

ENDNOTES

1. This view has been challenged by an ambitious work in which Alexander Murray mainly contends against a theory of continental scholars that patrilineal clans existed in Germanic prehistory (Murray 1983). He believes that early Germanic kinship was bilateral and did not entail clan organizations, and thus he argues as well against "the British school of matrilinealists." Murray does not consider what contribution the evident matrilineal kingship of the Picts, lasting until 842 A.D. (Anderson 1973), may have made to the "remarkable vitality of the matrilineal viewpoint among British historians." Murray's study has been thought by a reviewer to "dismiss inconvenient evidence with undue rapidity" (Charles-Edwards 1986), and the point is well taken.

Chadwick is said to have "denied" that "the tribe was an aggregate of clans, that the clan was intimately bound up with the village, and formed within the tribe what we can call a political or judicial unit" (26). But in fact Chadwick's words were: "We need not hesitate to believe that the tribe itself was made up of a number of local communities under chiefs of their own, each of whom probably possessed a stockaded village where he practiced *blót* [sacrifice] and administered justice under his sacred tree" (1907. p. 323). Whether village heads were "really chiefs of clans" Chadwick had not sufficient evidence to say, but organizations of kindred seemed to him to have been much more important in the Roman period than they would be later (see Ringtved 1986, 169-201).

Tacitus' statement that village farmland was worked "*ab universis in vices*" ("by everyone in turn") is dismissed by Murray as evidence of only "individual or family ownership" (56), not corporate kin activity [Concerning constant modification of Danish and German field boundaries, see Liversage

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1980, 127 and Schutz 1983, 322]. Tacitus' observation that "neither chance nor casual grouping makes the squadron or the wedge, but family and kinship" (*Germania* 7) is seen as "not a description of military organization *at all*" by Murray (55, my italics), whose translation of *propinquitates* as "friends" does not accord with *propinqui* in chapter 13.

Murray states that "a certain amount of rhetoric" (60) inflated Tacitus's report that a maternal uncle's relation to sister's son was more important among some of the Germans than father's to son; but his grounds are unlikely, namely that Tacitus's description was colored by Herodotos' and Polybius' accounts of other peoples. Chadwick had found the displacement of the king of the Quadi by two sons of his sister worthy of special attention because it is "the only case of succession to a Suebic kingdom of which we know in early times," and he judged that "the further we go back in native tradition the more prominent become the traces of [a matrilineal] system (1907, 331-334). Murray's "particular interest" in this Quadi event was limited to "the fact that maternal relationship was no bar to the accession" (62).

Even in Murray's view matrilineal descent groups may have existed in Germanic prehistory ["optative features," 64], but he dismisses such matters as "conjectural."

2. Nora Chadwick has pointed usefully in this direction (1959, 200, 186), although overemphasizing eastern Baltic associations of the monsters.

3. The nine sea beasts may be compared with the nine "maidens of mighty strength, dwelling beneath the sea... familiar in both Scandinavian and Irish traditions" and "linked with the giantesses of the underworld who play an important part in Norse mythology" (Ellis Davidson 1964, 175). The god Heimdall, son of these nine mothers, is in some ways an early male version of Freyia. Like her, he is of the Vanir, the fertility gods; his name is the counterpart of "*Mardǫll*," which expresses her relation to the sea; and he sometimes took the form of a seal – suggesting relationship between his family and the *nicereas* of *Beowulf* (Ellis Davidson 1964, 172-176; Turville-Petre 1964, 147-155). The god of the sea who is the father of Heimdall's mothers is the other deity which Grimm associated with the name Gefion (1968, 193, 198). Heimdall has been likened to the Irish deity "Manannan mac Lir in that he is closely associated with the sea... and above all he is a begetter of children" (Chadwick 1958, 112). Nine mothers of a single son are also known in Irish legend (Ellis Davidson 1964, 130-131). In both Norse and Irish mythology, such figures may reflect a marriage tradition, elaborately associated with Manannan mac Lir in the West (Chadwick 1958, 109), of sacral kingship for the consort of the goddess.

4. Wolves live among the condemned in a poem whose hero is named after one – an irony not lost on environmentalist Barry Lopez (1978, 141, 208). The fate of the species, perhaps foreshadowed in Beowulf's killing of nine sea beasts, may likewise be anticipated in the summary slaying of a water creature from Grendel's Mother's lake by a Geatish bowman (1. 1432f).

5. Lines 1259 and 1352; Three times of Wealtheow, 11. 620, 1168, 1649; Twice of Hildeburh, 11. 1075, 1117; Once of Modþrýðo. 1. 1941.

6. The "feline nature" of the she-monster of the episode of *Orms Þáttr Stórólfssonar* which is compared to *Beowulf* has been said to "lack tangible parallels in Icelandic Saga" (Puhvel 1979, 19n7). But a term used in the *Orms Þáttr* for the she-monster, *ketta*, "she-cat," is exactly the word used for the female monster in some versions of the *Grettis Saga* episode which is related to Beowulf's fight with Grendel's Mother (Cf. Chambers 1967, 186 with 189n2). Moreover, Norse mythology describes the Goddess Freyia as having a feline aspect. Her legendary chariot was drawn by cats; "for this reason she might be called 'owners of cats' (*eigandi fressa*)" (Turville-Petre 1964, 176). Furthermore, gloves of catskin were worn by leaders of the ritual known as *seiðr* which Freyia was said to have originated (Ellis Davidson 1964, 117-120). The she-monster of *Orms þáttr* was also likened to an ox (Puhvel 1979, 18n7), another beast elaborately associated with Freyia (Turville-Petre 1964, 256) as with Gefion (*Ynglinga Saga*, above).

7. This analysis bears on issues raised by Murray. Other signs of ancestor worship in Germanic and Scandinavian tradition are not lacking (Chadwick 1907, 339-340; Philpotts 1913, 272-273; Hempel 1966; Brate 1911-12; Turville-Petre 1963; Bennike and Ebbesen 1986). These can only be

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understood as pointing to the persistence of a monolineal kinship system. For ancestor worship cannot be sustained in a society where the kinship group is constituted bilaterally (Philpotts, 1913, 272). In Renfrew's schema the descent groups attached to tombs may have been patrilineal or matrilineal (he did not speculate), but the kinship system was monolineal.

8. Semicolon follows Wrenn 1973.

9. Whitelock 1951, 5-7. Crucial to her argument, the obscurity of *Christian* references to giants requires a late date for composition of the poem.

10. Levy's assumption that differences in female sumptuary goods reflect the ranking of husbands and fathers – despite the slight variation in male sumptuary sets (79) – makes some of her conclusions about an "elite" questionable.

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Volume 1

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